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Meksi Presents Government's Goals for 1993

AU2502134993 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 28 Jan 93 p 1, 2

[Article by Council of Ministers Chairman Aleksander Meksi: "1993—A Decisive Year for Albania"]

[Text] If we cast a glance at the work done by the Democratic Party [PD] during its nine months in power, we will notice results as well as failures. They have been analyzed and I would like to devote just a few lines to the problems we will have to resolve in the near future.

One of the main tasks of the government was the working of institutions, considered from two aspects of the reform, the institutional and the administrative. Over recent months, the government has drafted a considerable number of laws and amendments to existing laws so as to create the necessary legal basis for a democratic state and a free market economy. These laws have also been drafted with the help of foreign advisers, and the experience of our country and other countries going through a transitional period. We can now say that after we have adopted the laws we are now drafting, such as those on bankruptcy for private individuals, property, and the antimonopoly law, a generally complete picture of the course of the economic reform will emerge.

Concerning administrative reform, we are moving forward in two directions: the creation of administrative structures and working practices that will faciliate economic reform and the dismissal from leading positions of those who lack devotion and have an antireformist, antidemocratic, and corrupt mentality. Regarding the first aspect, we are working together with World Bank experts and we think that by the beginning of the second quarter of this year we will have become able to evaluate this in detail. As for the other aspect, following work that has been started in earnest since the previous meeting of the National Council, we are striving to enhance the reform of all the ministries. Alongside the dismissals which were anticipated and following the reform recently approved (accounting for 5-10 percent [of the employees]), a number of employees are being dismissed from these ministries because their presence there is redundant, useless, and in many cases harmful. The coordination of the work of the ministries with Tirana and a judgment in each case are necessary and this has yielded results. Another aspect of the matter is to attract new personnel, which should be done by applying strict professional principles and maintaining a defined stance toward the reform. We should accept that a very serious problem that will affect the future of the reform and that of the work in our main institutions is the appointment of personnel capable of performing these new tasks efficiently. I think that both the government and the PD should do more to develop short or postuniversity courses. These courses with clear specialization programs will take place abroad so as to prepare our leaders not only for the more distant future, but also for the present and the near future.

Regarding the law, we can observe minor improvements and we think that, with the initiative for short-term courses established a month ago, we will see significant improvements in the next months. The government has expressed its readiness to prepare these courses despite the eventual difficulties.

February will be decisive for implementing the proposed measures to reform the Academy of Sciences and its institutions, and subsequently the entire network of scientific institutions that are dependent on ministries. Together with appointing and training the personnel, this reorganization remains a task for the future.

It is an important task for us to train professionally efficient personnel who are both dedicated to the reform and anticommunists. We should exploit every possibility, starting from bringing experts over here.

The economic reform, which is our main task on the economic and political fronts, is developing successfully, but also facing difficulties that must be overcome by every means. It would be improper to describe the extent of collapse in organization that the government we inherited had and how many obstacles are hindering the reform. However, in trying to put the PD program into practice, the reform has started and it is generally proceeding well, having the support and encouragement of every international financial institution. However, it is encountering difficulties that result from the political situation in the region.

The basis for the structural reform of the market economy has been laid after the economy has been stabilizing under crisis conditions. It is true that the reform has created difficulties for certain strata [of society], but we should relieve them of their sufferings and sacrifices through a mature social policy that does not stimulate parasitism. Other strata of the population in the cities are living better, as are the majority of the peasantry. The number of those in work has increased significantly. The basic budget indices have been fulfilled, in addition to positive results in the system of taxation and customs.

We are near to completing the draft program on the economic development for 1993 and the agreement with the IMF for this year. Meanwhile we are being prepared for a medium-term agreement with the IMF, which will be drafted during the spring. All these constitute a step forward, which is as important for the economic reform as it is difficult.

The year 1993 is a decisive year for Albania. On the economic reform, we should fulfill the targets put forward in the budget. The future of the economic reform in Albania will depend on these results. Over the past year, we have laid the foundations for the reform and for a new structure in the Albanian economy. This year we

should establish this by reorganizing the state's institutional structure with the necessary laws and by starting to invest.

When we speak about the importance of the reform, we should consider the tasks we should perform as a party to support it. I think that it is necessary to do more work at the root, so as to become the agents of the reform and create a consensus as broad as possible with those forces that support our electoral program and also with the trade unions, who have a role as well. I think that it is necessary, not to say indispensable, to obtain even within Albania the large consensus of support necessary to carry out the reform in this decisive year. Sincere and realistic dialogue with them should give us the opportunity to govern calmly in this decisive period on the basis of the approved plan of reform. This would allow us to govern calmly even in Parliament, without the kind of strikes that seriously damage the economy, Albania's credibility, etc.

The experience of other countries going through a transition period suggests this. It is being further necessitated by the latest developments in the political struggle in our country, in which the antireformist, antidemocratic, and neocommunist forces are using all their means to destabilize the country at any cost. [The strikes at] Polican, Bulqize, Ballsh, the attempts at a mass exodus, and the frenzied propaganda are sufficient to illustrate this. The PD and the government have opposed these attempts by enforcing the law, because there cannot be justice without using the force of law, and we will insist on this. It should be said that a problem arises here, that of strengthening the PD's work with these weak links and intensifying the role of its members within the trade unions so as to thwart the efforts of provocateurs and neocommunists. I say this because I feel and I am informed that there are new attempts being made.

An important aspect of the reform in this period is that of the privatization of the state enterprises, which is being done on the basis of a defined strategy. We have decided to increase the privatization rates and give instructions on giving property. We have drafted the legal institutional changes and these should be approved as soon as possible. Through intensive efforts initially by the ministry, more than 400 enterprises and units to be privatized are being sent to the National Privatization Agency. Another lot will soon follow. We are facing two problems: 1. Drafting the documentation as soon as possible. The ministries are facing resistance from the base which should be overcome. 2. A studied definition of the form of privatization, proceeding from the political circumstances and the realization of the value.

It is the duty of PD branches to acquainted themselves with these and to orient them toward the form of privatization and beyond.

Regarding investment in Albania, the coming months will mark a turn in this through investment in the infrastructure, such as airports, ports, national roads, telecommunications, the health service, productive investment in existing industry, as well as through new investment through the budget, which is limited and can be obtained through the help and cooperation of foreign states and private individuals. These measures will allow domestic production to increase, unemployment fall, and incomes increase, that is, other investment, principally productive investment.

During February, the prefectures will be organized, something which will increase the role of the PD and its power at the local level.

Finally, I express my conviction that the PD is able to govern the country and that it will maturely and efficiently lead the reform to its complete success.

Macedonian Patrol Kills Man at Border Crossing

AU2502201893 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Esat Cucllari telephone report from Librazhd]

[Text] In the border village of Rajce in Librazhd District, near Pyramid 45 in Qafe e Thanes, the Macedonian border forces shot to death Musa Destan Cuku, age 32. Musa and several of his friends were crossing the border near Radolisht village in Struge commune to sell calves. Meanwhile, six peasants from Rajce have been arrested and are being held at Struge prison. If the Rajce villagers crossed the border illegally, there are other laws not to use firearms and take human life.

Foreign Ministry Issues Protest

AU2502203693 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Statement by the Foreign Ministry spokesman; place, date not given]

[Text] As has been reported, at about 1630 [1530 GMT] on 22 February at Pyramid E40, near the Rajce border post in Librazhd and 300 meters into Macedonian territory, a Macedonian border patrol opened fire at two Albanian nationals who had crossed the border. One, named Musa Destan Cuku, age 36, from Rajce-Fushe of Librazhd, was wounded and later died enroute to the Struge hospital.

Concerning this barbarous murder, the Albanian side protested at the meetings of both local Macedonian-Albanian commissions. The Foreign Ministry expresses the deep concern of the Albanian people about this incident, which follows other incidents that happened last year and resulted in the deaths of seven other Albanian nationals.

Concerning these serious events, the Macedonian side was informed at the proper time and has received the Albanian protests. Such acts as that of 22 February run counter to the spirit of the agreement on measures to stop and solve border incidents and they create tension

along the border. Moreover, they do not help to strengthen the bilateral relations of neighborliness and cooperation in various fields, which the paramount leaders of both countries have pledged to further enhance to the benefit of both sides and to their reciprocal interest. They have nothing to do with the humane nature that should characterize the relations between our two neighboring countries, especially at this time when the situation in the Balkan region is deteriorating and poses a danger to our countries.

Protesting energetically against such an unjustifiable act, the Albanian Government requests that the Macedonian Government adopt the necessary measures to end such actions, which run counter to human rights, the official commitments by the Macedonian side, and the public and official Macedonian statements on friendship and understanding with Albania, as well as with the basic standards of the civilized world.

Zhulali, Commanders Discuss Army Restructuring

AU2502222093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] A Defense Ministry spokesman reports that yesterday morning the ministry completed its performance review for the past year. Division commanders, Army autonomous units, and high-ranking ministry officials, including Defense Minister Safet Zhulali, participated in the meeting.

The report by the chief of the Army General Staff, Lieutenant General Ilia Vasho, stressed that the reform efforts were progressing. Military readiness is the top priority. Several training exercises have been performed in line with this, such as those in Sazan, Gjalice 92, etc. Readiness tests have been carried out frequently. The Army has rendered good assistance to the people by distributing food aid and transporting [word indistinct]. The Army has been the first on the scene in cases of natural disasters, such as the great flood.

After thanking the officers for their commitment to successfully carry out reform, Zhulali stressed several tasks the Army has to confront this year. The main one involves restructuring. The officers and personnel are expecting it. This will be carried out on a sound scientific basis, aiming at further strengthening the Army, concentrating and compacting the units, strengthening barracks system, and applying the military hierarchy. He stressed that in the restructuring process there will be no numerical reduction of cadres and soldiers. The restructuring will oblige all officers to perform mental and physical labor so each can assess his knowledge and preparedness, be rigorously employed, and therefore deserve the position and the grade assigned to him. This is not enough. Officers should commit themselves to this task and always be ready to fulfill assignments without hesitation. The officers and all Army staff will see their responsibilities easing as everything will be done to fulfill their material and personal needs as much as possible, such as solving the housing problems, etc.

Along with restructuring, we will insist on the application of laws and military regulations. The work of Army cadres is not measured in words, but by results in military training and other disciplines. In personnel work we should abandon moralizing and endless discussions. In our practical labors, we should teach people and ask them to strictly apply military regulations and laws. The soldier should himself be the first to set an example before the law, thus increasing his moral standing and respect among the civilian population.

At the end of the review, Zhulali stressed several tasks that the Army has to perform under the present conditions, considered in relation to the tense situation in the Balkans and the need to further strengthen the preparations and readiness to better execute the national defense.

Lack of Clear Foreign Policy Concept Alleged

AU2502121393 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 17 Feb 93 p 1

[Asparukh Panov commentary: "Conducting Balkan Policy Is Not Amateur Artistic Activity"]

[Text] Despite the ever more obvious negative consequences of electing Lyuben Berov's cabinet, some people are still inclined to accept it, led by the principle of the lesser evil. Their motives are fully understandable, because they are prompted by the dramatic situation in the Balkans. Against the background of a constantly and uncontrollably expanding Yugoslav war, it is very important to have a working rather than a dissolved parliament, a cabinet that was elected rather than appointed by the president, and a normal and calm political situation rather than a tense preelection situation. And if, God forbid, decisions fateful for the country must be made, it is better to discuss those decisions in democratically elected state institutions, rather than by [journalists] Khristo Genchev and Miko Petrov on the "Nedelya-150" radio program. All this would be correct if, for many reasons, parliament were not isolated from its rightful place in forming Bulgaria's foreign policy.

How can we speak of a general Balkan strategy when for more than three months the Commission on Foreign Policy has had no leadership, has worked sporadically and without a clear program, and its work has been organized by only one deputy chairman, who is a member of the smallest parliamentary faction of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS]? What is the benefit of having working state institutions when there is no coordination among them and when the Bulgarian president visits Balkan states without having met or consulted even once the National Assembly Commissions on Foreign Policy and on National Security or the Bulgarian delegations to the parliamentary assemblies of the Council for Europe, NATO, the CSCE, or the Western European Union? Mutual respect and tolerance, and coordinating positions on the country's vital problems are not mandatory from the legal and constitutional points of view, but are vested in the foundation of democracy. No one has the right to underestimate parliament, because it is precisely there that cooperation among the political forces in working out a common foreign policy concept takes place.

Unfortunately, certain political forces are themselves contributing to isolating parliament by utilizing foreign policy for accumulating party dividends. Conducting foreign policy is not an amateur artistic activity and is not done on the basis of a hastily scribbled declaration or by collecting signatures on every corner as the DPS deputies did. It is also not conducted by including deputies who have been stripped of their parliamentary immunity in prestigious parliamentary delegations, as in the case of Aleksandur Lilov. All this testifies at least to the absence of a serious and professional attitude. I am simply amazed by the political blindness of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] leaders, which borders on mental deficiency. They are ready to provoke an international scandal and foil an exceptionally important visit to Greece by the chairman of the Bulgarian Parliament, which had been coordinated with great difficulty, simply to promote with their characteristic arrogance a pitiful, ridiculous, and long prone to compromise figure such as Aleksandur Lilov. In other cases, this communist stupidity would have been comical, but the situation in the Balkans is too serious to lose face with such silly blunders. Obviously, the newly restored self-confidence of the BSP could become very dangerous. It also has a political aspect—the distance to new parliamentary elections is rapidly shortening.

National Assembly Delegation Departs for Moscow

AU2502141793 Sofia BTA in English 1200 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 25 (BTA)—Today the chairman of the National Assembly, Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov, left on an official visit to Russia at the invitation of the chairman of Russia's Parliament, Mr. Ruslan Khasbulatov. Mr. Yordanov is going to meet his Russian counterpart today. He will have talks with Russian President Boris Yeltsin and with Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

Russia is a priority in Bulgarian foreign policy and in the development of our economic and trade relations, Mr. Yordanov said in an interview for Radio Sofia this morning. He said that the main topic of the talks in Moscow would be the possibility of activating Bulgarian-Russian parliamentarian relations and expanding cooperation between the committees of the two countries' parliaments. "We have many of the problems Russia has got to cope with and be it said to Bulgaria's credit that it has already managed to find successful solutions to some of them," Mr. Yordanov pointed out. He stressed that the activation of Bulgarian-Russian economic relations was the most important point of the visit of the Bulgarian parliamentary delegation to Moscow. The two sides will consider the positions of Bulgaria and Russia on the establishment and functioning of a Black Sea economic zone and the idea about setting up a parliamentary assembly of Black Sea economic cooperation. In Moscow the chairman of the Bulgarian National Assembly intends to discuss the situation in the Balkans and the war in the former Yugoslavia. "It is very important for us to learn what exactly the Russian position is at this complicated moment in the Balkans," Mr. Aleksandur Yordanov said.

A Bulgarian parliamentary delegation comprising members of the Grand National Assembly visited Moscow in April 1991. In August 1992 the presidents of the two countries, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev and Mr. Boris Yeltsin, signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation. An agreement on setting up an intergovernmental committee for

trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation and an agreement on cooperation between the Bulgarian and the Russian defence ministries were also signed.

Talks Held With Romania on Black Sea Boundaries

AU2502223193 Sofia BTA in English 1546 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 25 (BTA)—Talks were held here on February 23 and 24 between delegations of experts of Bulgaria and Romania on the delimitation of Black Sea sea space (the territorial sea, continental shelf and exclusive economic zones). The two sides expressed the common stand that it would be expedient to subject certain parts of the Black Sea to multilateral delimitation.

The two sides agreed for the first round of negotiations to be held in Bucharest and for the dates to be specified through diplomatic channels, the Press Office of the Bulgarian Foreign Ministry announced.

Parliament Declines To Attend Black Sea Meeting

AU2502222593 Sofia BTA in English 1739 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 25 (BTA)—Bulgaria declined the invitation to take part in the meeting of the parliamentary leaders of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) member states which opened in Istanbul today because of the current visit of a high-ranking Bulgarian parliamentary delegation to Russia as well as because of the stand of the Bulgarian Parliament on this issue, the Press Office of the National Assembly announced. Supporting the idea for economic cooperation in the Black Sea region, Bulgaria believes that its institutionalization is not expedient at the present stage and attaches greater importance to bilateral economic contacts in the region and to economic cooperation under the aegis of the Council of Europe and the CSCE, the Press Office added.

Bulgaria is one of the 11 countries which signed the declaration on Black Sea economic cooperation. The purpose of the meeting in Istanbul is to establish a consultative parliamentary assembly of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation countries.

KNSB Chairman Views Differences With Podkrepa

AU2502161393 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 17 Feb 93 p 10

[Interview with Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB), by Khristofor Karadzhov; place and date not given: "Krustyu Petkov: If We Want We Could Restore Communism in Bulgaria Within One Day"]

[Excerpts] [Karadzhov] Prof. Petkov, what does the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] want from Lyuben Berov's government at present?

[Petkov] Compensating for the price shock related to the fuel price increase is the most urgent task. Everything else has a secondary importance. The pressure of the people on us is very great. Now we must pose this issue to the government and postpone our other demands. I cannot hide the fact that I am not pleased with this. I like to work in a more systematic manner, but we must take the situation into consideration. Naturally, our demand that the government announce its decision on dividing the property between the trade unions remains in force. [passage omitted]

[Karadzhov] How do you assess your relations with the Podkrepa Labor Confederation? Did they as your competitors help you to develop?

[Petkov] If Podkrepa would not have existed our reform would have hardly succeeded, and now the Bulgarian trade unions would be as helpless as the Russian trade unions—neither fish nor fowl. Podkrepa was our rival, and at certain moments our enemy, but presently we are partners, which is the normal situation. The sober strategists of Podkrepa leadership value this partnership. However, certain politically oriented trade union figures in Sofia and the provinces cannot understand this partnership and often apply pressure on the Podkrepa leadership to dissociate itself from us. This precisely is what Dr. Trenchev did last week, although he used a weak argument—that the KNSB was and remains a communist formation. I claim that if we would like to serve a communist party, the communists will be restored in Bulgaria on the following day. A powerful trade union that has 2 million members could seriously provoke the situation in such a direction. It suffices to publish a dozen populist slogans from the arsenal of the communists. Under the grave conditions that presently exist they will immediately cause an effect. However, the KNSB does precisely the opposite. It enters into a conflict with its organizations, which, for example demand an equal distribution of the revenue or applying a dictate over the economic leaders. We would like to teach our organizations to trade unionism.

The differences between the two trade unions are in the manner of action rather than in the political area. The KNSB guards itself from the temptation to seek control over the country's administrative and economic authorities and get involved in politics. Podkrepa is doing this from the very beginning. Actually it was created on this basis. We concentrate almost 100 percent of our efforts on purely trade union issues that seem to be banal and uninteresting—wages, pensions, and compensations, but thus we win the people's confidence and increase our membership. [passage omitted]

Staff, Others Protest TV Chief's Dismissal

AU2502221893 Sofia BTA in English 2031 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Sofia, February 25 (BTA)—This evening Channel 2 of Bulgarian National Television (BNT) aired a protest declaration of editorial staffs and departments of the BNT addressed to the National Assembly chairman in connection with the removal of Asen Agov from the post of BNT director general voted by parliament yesterday.

The declaration expresses protest against the "crushing" policy of parliament and creeping restoration at the national television. We object against the inaction of the Parliamentary Radio and Television Committee which is pursuing a personnel instead of a legislative policy, the declaration reads.

The election of Asen Agov as chief of Bulgarian National Television resulted in the breaking up of diehard forms and the launching of a reform which revealed actual possibilities for making the BNT a television organization of a European type, the declaration reads.

According to the declaration, the emerging conflict between the political forces in Bulgaria has affected the BNT. The inspirers of the removal of Asen Agov probably know that the state of the equipment of the BNT will inevitably lead to a discontinuation of broadcasts and then those who need the BNT as a campaign machine will not be able to use it for technical reasons, the declaration reads.

The declaration points out that by tomorrow the trade unions at the BNT will announce their decisions for concrete actions at their general meetings.

The Christian Agrarian Party sees the dismissal of television director Asen Agov as a planned, politically motivated, unlawful act, said Ivan Glushkov, the party's leader. The new majority of Turks and Reds in parliament ousted the TV chief in a most high-handed manner, the Bulgarian Socialist (ex-Communist) Party (BSP) and the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), as well as all forces supporting the Lyuben Berov cabinet, should take the responsibility for all future developments, according to the Christian Agrarian Party.

In protest against Mr. Agov's dismissal the regional Podkrepa Labour Confederation called a strike alert in its locals in Veliko Turnovo. The locals may go on strike unless parliament revokes its decision.

Seventy journalists working for Plovdiv's newspapers and radio stations have issued a declaration protesting Asen Agov's dismissal. "We firmly oppose the attempts at recommunization of national television and the disregard for professionalism," says the declaration. "This act of the MP's of the BSP and the DPS stifled freedom of speech and plunged us back into totalitarian times, when television used to serve the regime," journalists in Plovdiv say.

Government Rejects Quotas for Yugoslav Refugees

AU2502195593 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 24 Feb 93 p 2

["jem"-signed report: "The Czech Republic Has Refused To Share Refugees From Former Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Prague— The Czech Republic has rejected a comprehensive solution to the problem of refugees from former Yugoslavia that would set numbers tolerable for individual European states, Ivana Novakova, deputy head of the Interior Ministry International Affairs Department, said yesterday.

According to Novakova, our authorities fear that such a solution would trigger protracted arguments about what level of humanitarian assistance individual countries can bear. The Czech state is now officially providing in so-called humanitarian centers social and health care to 2,100 refugees from former Yugoslavia, all of whom had asked for temporary refuge in the Czech Republic. Last year's appeal to our citizens to accommodate those refugees in their own families was described by Ivana Novakova as ill-considered because no mechanism had been in place of allocating financial support to these families.

According to Novakova, two-thirds of the 2,100 refugees temporarily accommodated in the Czech Republic do not intend to return home. However, they do not want to stay here either because they still regard the Czech Republic as a poor socialist country. Only 37 Yugoslav citizens have applied for the status of political refugees thus far. The fate of the others will therefore depend on the outcome of talks with Germany.

Last week the Czech Ministry of Interior took over in Zagreb another group of 115 refugees. Ivana Novakova added that the Czech Republic would live up to its pledge and accept 495 more of them.

Deputies Vote Against Renewing Dam Agreement

AU2502224693 Prague CTK in English 1624 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Prague Feb 23 (CTK)—The Czech Chamber of Deputies today approved a government proposal that the Czech Republic should not succeed to the 1977 Czechoslovak-Hungarian agreement on the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros waterworks on the Danube or to its ensuing contracts.

Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec said that from an international-legal point of view, the agreement only applies to the territory of the Slovak Republic, and in addition the law on division of property of the former Czechoslovakia between its two successor republics states that immovables belong to that republic on whose territory they are located.

Construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric waterworks was begun by Hungary and the then Czechoslovakia in 1978. Since Hungary halted work on its part of the project in 1989, the Gabcikovo dam has been the cause of protracted controversy which is to be resolved by the Hague International Court of Justice.

Havel, Parliamentary Leaders Discuss Cooperation

AU2502225193 Prague CTK in English 1221 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Prague Feb 23 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel and leaders of the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech Parliament today discussed cooperation between the head of state and parliament.

Havel would like to come to the parliament twice a year and attend the meetings of parliamentary committees if he considers it useful. Once a month he wants to meet Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies Milan Uhde.

Jaroslav Ortman (Left Bloc) told CTK that Havel preferred meeting representatives of political parties at Prague Castle to attending their parliamentary clubs' deliberations.

Havel said he would attend gladly the meetings of the chamber leadership if invited, Ortman said.

The leadership consists of the chairman and deputy chairmen of the chamber and representatives of all deputies' groups. Today's meeting was not attended by a representative of the Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC). At previous meetings of the leadership the republicans did not conceal their disagreement with Havel's presence.

Ortman said that Havel would like the parliament to create quickly conditions for the establishment of the Constitutional Court. The court's judges are appointed by the president.

After the meeting, Havel had an informal meeting with Uhde.

The 6th session of the Chamber of Deputies starts early this afternoon. Havel will deliver a speech at the meeting.

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 24 February on page 1, under the headline "Havel's Premier in the Chamber," carries a 400-word "(ben, iv)"-signed report on the president's meeting with parliamentary deputies. According to this report, Vaclav Havel expressed the view that "the deputies should make a speedy decision on whether the screening law is currently valid in the form approved by the former Federal Assembly or whether the finding reached by the CSFR Constitutional Court is valid, a finding annulling stipulations that do not fully determine collaboration with the former State Security."]

Havel Selects Chairman, Deputy for Supreme Court

LD2602060893 Prague CTK in English 1918 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Prague Feb 25 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel today appointed Otakar Motejl as chairman of the Czech Republic's Supreme Court and Pavel Kucera as the court's deputy chairman.

Havel stressed this completes the building of the third pillar of state power—court power which in a democratic society must fulfil its functions independently of legislative and executive power.

Motejl, 60, was Czechoslovakia's Supreme Court chairman from January 1990 until the end of the Czechoslovak Federation as of December 31, 1992. In the years 1970-1989 he worked as a lawyer after he had to leave for political reasons the post of a judge of the Supreme Court. In the capacity of a lawyer he defended the opposition and activists of independent movements.

Kucera, 53, worked as a judge from 1972-1990. In May 1991 he was elected a Czechoslovak Supreme Court judge.

Under the Constitution, the chairman and deputy chairmen of the Supreme Court are appointed excluively by the president. The terms of office are not limited in time.

The first plenary session of the court will be held at its seat in Brno, south Moravia, on March 3.

Deputies Reject Law on Establishing Senate

LD2602045193 Prague CTK in English 2106 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Prague Feb 25 (CTK)—The Chamber of Deputies of the Czech Parliament today rejected a draft constitutional law on the establishment of a provisional Senate of the parliament, submitted by three government coalition parties.

The draft was prepared by the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL). The Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), which has been opposed to the Senate's creation, did not participate in preparation of the bill.

The draft was supported by only 74 deputies while a three-fifths majority, or 120 votes, in the 200-seat parliament is required for a constitutional law to be passed. 55 deputies were opposed to the bill and 20 abstained.

The draft was supported by an overwhleming majority of deputies from the three coalition parties which have altogether 91 seats in the chamber.

Today's, already third discussion of the draft was recommended by the chamber's organisational council. For the first time, the draft was rejected in a secret vote by the then Czech National Council (CNR) on December 19. Shortly afterwards, a group of deputies submitted a new variant of the draft, but the CNR presidium did not recommend to shorten the 60-day term for its discussion.

Under the law ending the Czechoslovak Federation, which was passed in November 1992, the Senate should be created by the transfer of the federal parliamentarians.

However, there were 174 deputies to the federal parliament elected in the Czech Republic, but the Senate is to have only 81 deputies. Under the draft law, they should be over 40 and would be chosen proportionately to the June 1992 election results while preferential votes would be taken into account.

The transfer of former federal parliamentarians to the Senate has been opposed mainly by opposition parties which prefer new parliamentary elections. They argue that the federal deputies were elected to a different body than the Senate.

Submitting the draft, Josef Pavela from the KDU-CSL said that under the temporary provisions of the Czech Constitution, the provisional Senate performs the duties of the Senate until this chamber is established through elections which should be held not later than December 30, 1994.

Bill on Material Reserves Administration Passed

LD2602111493 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] The Chamber of Deputies today passed, almost without debate, the government-sponsored bill on the the administration of state material reserves. Minister for the Economy Karel Dyba noted that the setting up of the Czech Republic's own administration conformed to the power-sharing law adopted by the former Czechoslovak Federation at the end of last year. The law defines the administration as a central body of state administration consisting of Prague-based headquarters and special-purpose organizational units. In this connection Karel Dyba said that contingency plans will be compiled by important economic subjects, district offices and central bodies of state administration.

Czech Decision on Gabcikovo Seen as Beneficial

AU2502225393 Prague CTK in English 2132 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Bratislava/Budapest Feb 23 (CTK)—Slovakia will gain a great deal by being the only successor state to the Gabcikovo hydroelectric project, said the waterworks' construction director, Julius Binder, on Slovak Radio today, in response to the decision by the Czech Parliament to surrender the Czech Republic's succession rights to the project.

Binder said that it is important that Hungary consult with Slovakia on the planned construction of small dams on the old Danube river bed. He added that it is ironic that Hungary, which withdrew from the 1977 agreement to build the project, will construct dams similar to the ones originally planned.

Hungary will see, Binder said, that the amount of water which we let into the Danube will be sufficient, and that the situation regarding the project will improve on both the Slovak and Hungarian sides.

The Hungarian Parliament, meanwhile, passed a resolution today in which it officially protests the unilateral diversion of the flow of the Danube river by Slovakia.

In an appeal to other countries' parliaments, the resolution states that the Slovak Republic violates Hungarian territorial integrity and a number of international agreements by the unilateral diversion of the Danube on its territory.

Hungarian deputies note that on a roughly 30-kilometre section of the river, the water level has dropped to up to one-sixth its original level, the river has become unnavigable and serious ecological and economic damage threatens.

Meciar, EC Official Discuss Association Accord

AU2502225293 Prague CTK in English 2129 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Brussels Feb 23 (CTK correspondent)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar discussed here today a new Slovak association agreement with the European Community (EC) in a meeting with EC Commission Member for External Economic Relations Leon Brittan.

Meciar told CTK after the meeting that he is pleased with Brittan's approach to the matter. He said that Brittan holds the view that the Czech and Slovak Republics should be accepted as EC members simultaneously.

Meciar said he was also satisfied with Brittan's stand concerning opening of West European markets to Slovak goods, including steel. Meciar said that Brittan will come to Slovakia on March 15 for further negotiations.

According to Meciar, the problem of ethnic minorities in Slovakia has also been taken up during the talks.

The EC high commissioner for ethnic minorities who has visited the Slovak Republic confirmed the high level of rights enjoyed by ethnic minorities in Slovakia where he found no case of ethnic minorities' rights violation, Meciar said.

On the first day of his stay in the EC headquarters Meciar was to meet with EC Commission President Jacques Delors. The meeting, however, was postponed due to Delors' sudden illness.

Government Considers Imposing Import Surcharges

AU2502200593 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 23 Feb 93 pp 1, 14

[CTK and "(mrs, mru, tma)"-signed report: "Difficulties Over Trade Lie on the Horizon"]

[Excerpts] Prague/Bratislava—The Slovak Republic is considering the introduction of import surcharges. Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar made this statement yesterday at a news conference held in Bratislava following his talks with Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, who was making his first official visit to the Slovak Republic. He thus confirmed that his cabinet has no intention of acceding to the Slovak koruna's devaluation and that it will resolve the problems with foreign currency reserves and the state's foreign trade balance by restricting imports. According to Meciar, notions about devaluation are merely a "psychological game."

Vaclav Klaus said in this regard that the Czech side has not been informed of the Slovak Government's preparations for imposing import surcharges on goods. According to Klaus, the adoption of restrictive measures does not immediately affect the agreement on a customs union. Nevertheless, the text of the agreement assumes that the Customs Union Council will discuss and approve such steps.

The Slovak prime minister declared at the news conference that such measures will only concern operations carried out in foreign currencies. He added that the "restrictions will not concern goods imported to Slovakia that originated in the Czech Republic." This means that import surcharges would only be imposed on so-called reexports, that is, goods imported first to the Czech Republic and then exported to Slovakia. Customs duties are currently imposed on these goods.

Meciar also said that the prepared measures should guarantee that "Slovakia does not have a deficit in clearing relations with the Czech Republic." He commented that, to this effect, "a special agreement should be concluded."

Slovak Economy Minister Ludovit Cernak said regarding the import surcharge issue that state control is not a nonmarket measure and that even the General

Agreement on Tariffs and Trade recommends its utilization if it is necessary to bolster foreign currency reserves.

Ludovit Cernak said that Czechoslovakia also placed restrictive measures on imports up to 31 December 1992, so this would—in principle—be nothing new. At the same time, import surcharges should not be an across-the-board measure. They would—as the case may be—concern cosmetics, consumer goods, textiles, and goods of a seasonal and fashionable nature. Vladimir Meciar also spoke on Sunday [21 February] evening about food and beer.

"Until we know the specific measures adopted by the Slovak side, it is impossible to say what exactly they will mean for the functioning of the customs union," said Czech Deputy Finance Minister Miroslav Tera yesterday. The Czech Republic's trade surplus with Slovakia last year amounted—according to the Czech Statistical Office's revised estimates—to some 16 billion korunas, that is, to roughly $0.45 billion. The two sides are interested in balancing out this considerable disparity.

Ludovit Cernak will meet with Czech Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy this Wednesday [24 February]. In all probability, a date will be set for a meeting of the Customs Union Council, which is chaired by Vladimir Dlouhy. The forthcoming talks will, obviously, be extremely important for the continued existence of the customs union between the Czech and Slovak Republics.

Disagreements about devaluing the Slovak currency led, according to a REUTER report of a few days ago, to the breakup of the talks between the International Monetary Fund and the Slovak Government. [passage omitted]

According to our information, devaluation is already being anticipated in the sense that foreign currency payments for exports from Slovak enterprises are being postponed. After devaluation, enterprises would receive more Slovak korunas.

Meciar on Devaluation, Stabilization of Currency

AU2502181193 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 19 Feb 93 pp 1, 16

[Interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Maria Sisulakova in Bratislava; date not given: "Talks of Devaluation Harm the Slovak Economy: So Far, the Settlement Has Not Been Signed"]

[Text] [Sisulakova] Mr. Prime Minister, according to Czech Finance Minister I. Kocarnik, preliminary calculations indicate that in December 1992, the Slovak Republic shortchanged the federal budget by at least five-sixths of the sales tax, which represents 3 billion korunas. Is that true?

[Meciar] Just halfway. Balance sheets of the Slovak Republic were on records of the Czechoslovak State Bank, and nothing can be tampered with in there. The minister apparently used the balance record of 31 December. Payments can be made and levies paid, however, as late as 15 February. All the transactions were affected by the currency separation. This business must be clarified. Therefore, we have not yet signed the treaty on bank settlement. That is all being discussed.

[Sisulakova] The dispute regarding the devaluation of the Slovak koruna is gaining momentum. You have dealt with banking experts. What is your point of view?

[Meciar] The stabilization of the Slovak koruna is the foremost problem. The next problem is the clearing of enterprise debts. The liberalization of the banking and foreign currency legislations is the third area with which we are concerned. All these issues are being ardently discussed with various groups of experts. Our strategy will employ short-term measures, for survival, and long-term measures. We will use them to revive the economy. The very fact that the devaluation is discussed so much harmed the Slovak economic development. Some entities began to act as if in anticipation of the devaluation. Too much information harms society in general.

[Sisulakova] What is the cooperation like between the Slovak Government and parliament, particularly the latter's planning and budget committee, in this tense period?

[Meciar] Our cooperation is excellent. We agree that technically we can deal with issues very quickly. There must be, however, a clear philosophy and a complex interrelation. Each partial measure sets off an unbalanced movement, and a further reconciliation must take place. That is the basis on which the talks will take place between Hvezdon Koctuch, the parliamentary committee chairman, and the group of economic theoreticians, Government Office staffers, ministers, representatives of the banking circles, entrepreneurs, and employers. They should result in subsequent far-reaching changes in the legal order.

Jeszenszky on Use of Airspace for U.S. Flights

LD2502160293 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky has returned from his South African and Italian tour. At a short news conference, journalists understandably were primarily interested in Hungarian participation in the south Slav air action. Gabor Nemes was at the briefing:

[Nemes] Geza Jeszenszky said at his improvised news conference at the airport that Hungary will favorably examine the request that U.S. airplanes participating in the Bosnian aid flights may possibly fly over the airspace of the country. Journalists, of course, were asking about the details and the possible risks as well.

In response to my question on whether the incursion of military aircraft into south Slav territory from Hungarian airspace is not contrary to the Hungarian principle that our country does not participate actively in any kind of action, Jeszenszky said that we are talking about the transport of food and medicines. He would consider it very unfortunate if a part of the Hungarian public or the press considered the action questionable. He said that we must not worry about it.

The minister avoided a question on whether Hungary will get some kind of guarantee in case of possible negative Yugoslav actions, should extremist actions arise. Answering a question on whether, in his opinion, the flight of U.S. escort fighter planes over Hungary is permissible, Jeszenszky said: I have not thought about it yet. When I am faced with the question, I will consider it, or rather, the parliament will consider it.

U.S. Humanitarian Overflights Permitted

LD2502184293 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] The Hungarian Government has given permission—in principle—to U.S. airplanes carrying humanitarian aid to Bosnia to fly over Hungarian airspace. This was announced by a government spokesman, who added that he would advise the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committees, as well as the United States Embassy in Budapest, on the decision. As a matter of fact, the U.S. planes are unarmed and they will not be escorted by fighters.

Air Defense, Aviation Accord Signed With Ukraine

LD2602045493 Budapest MTI in English 2010 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Kiev, February 25 (MTI)—A joint air defence system and aviation development protocol was signed by high-ranking military leaders of Hungary and Ukraine on Thursday.

The Hungarian delegation to Kiev, headed by Army Deputy Commander Brig. Gen. Bela Balogh, met Brig. Gen. Anatoliy Lopata, acting chief of staff of the Ukrainian Army and Lt. Gen. Mikhail Lopatin, commander of Ukrainian Air Defence.

The Hungarian officers will also visit a few Ukrainian military units, the Ukrainian Defence Ministry press office said.

New Industry Minister Outlines Program

AU2502191193 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 22 Feb 93 p 7

[Interview with Industry and Trade Minister-Designate Janos Latorcai by Jozsef Peter; place and date not given: "Continuity in Industry Policy—The Ministerial Program of Janos Latorcai"]

[Excerpts] At the recent parliamentary hearing of the designated ministers, the economic committee unanimously supported Janos Latrocai. The support was meant for his professional aptitude and his human behavior. The nominee first expounded his ministerial program to UJ MAGYARORSZAG. [passage omitted]

[Peter] Could you please summarize your ministerial program?

[Latorcai] I begin with industry because this is closest to me. I already said at the hearing that, in my view, in the short term we must continue to concentrate on crisis management. The recession must be stopped, production must be stabilized, and industry must be put on a rising course within a short time, within the next 18 months if possible. The medium term industry and market development program must be finalized as soon as possible and, within this, a strategy similar to the one in the industry policy concept has to be drawn up and finalized for trade. As soon as industrial products leave the factory, they turns into trade merchandise and their route has to be followed through legal regulations. I am mainly thinking of drawing up a system of conditions that serves the security of consumers. However, because a considerable part of Hungarian products are sold abroad, we also need regulations that ensure the presence of our goods in Europe. This is one of the reasons I am in favor of drawing up a bill on consumer protection and product responsibility. [passage omitted]

[Peter] At the hearing, you were in favor of protecting Hungarian industry and markets. However, many people think that this cannot be reconciled with the market economy.

[Latorcai] We must differentiate between short-term and long-term measures. As a result of our association with the EC, the European Free Trade Agreement, and the Visegrad group, customs as a means of market protection are slowly losing their importance, but other possibilities also exist. In my view, in applying market protection measures, it is always the delicate details that are determining. As a matter of fact, economic science is also very divided on this issue. Many people deny the right of the

state to intervene—even in transitional situations. However, they all agree that, if nevertheless, the state intervenes—mainly in areas of strategic importance or in employment policy—then the intervention should be limited by law, and when the desired effects are achieved, namely the signs of crisis disappear in the given area, then they should automatically cease to exist.

Not a Goal But a Means

[Peter] One can often hear the criticism that the priorities of privatization are not quite clear. What is important in your view?

[Latorcai] In my view, privatization is never a goal but a means. It is a means to change the current structure. Therefore, the goal is to change the structure, and privatization serves this goal if it creates and operates an asset and ensures employment. A privatized company will fail the same way as a state company if it does not make Hungarian industry competitive.

[Peter] Assessing his one-year activity as a minister, [former Industry and Trade Minister] Ivan Szabo said he considered it a failure that the law on the mines and the fusion of the coal mines and power stations had not been completed in 1992. What are your plans in energy policy?

[Latorcai] It is public knowledge that the country is not rich in energy resources. Therefore, it is very important to establish a modern and efficient energy industry and a very rational production industry based on this. Legal regulations are also vitally important for the invlovment of capital, which is necessary for the ability to function and for development: It is important to enact the law on mines, gas, electric energy, and energy supplies. In my view, it is at least as urgent also to establish the possibility of access to alternative energy resources. We have to join the West European systems as soon as possible. This is important to increase the security of the service rather than to meet the daily needs. As a first step, the 700-millimeter gas pipeline between Gyor and Baumgarten has to be built, through which one quarter of Hungarian gas supplies can be ensured. Later, we can discuss opening to the North African gas fields through Italy, or in the direction of Norwegian and Swedish gas fields through Slovakia. It is also important to rationalize energy consumption further. In 1992, industrial production decreased by 10 percent, while the electric energy consumption decreased less than this. This also proves that we are still wasting energy. The household consumption structure also must be changed. In addition to the effects of price increases on consumption, people also have to recognize that it will be difficult to progress with the wasteful energy structure we now have.

What It Is Enough For

[Peter] We have heard two kinds of subjective assessments of your position. According to one, your job will be easy because your predecessor had to do much of the cutbacks, and all you have to do is construction. The other asks, skeptically: What is one year enough to do?

[Latorcai] I would like to start by saying that there is no reason to be overjoyed because the change of the industrial structure has not been completed yet, and further cutbacks are expected. According to our calculations, another 100,000 people will have to leave industry before the end of the century. For this reason, in addition to crisis management and structural change, we also have to find the healthy role of the state in the development of services because it is only this sphere that will be able to provide work for the current and future unemployed. I have not yet announced this, but I certainly consider it part of my program to draw up the concept of developing services. [passage omitted]

New Environment Minister Presents Views

AU2602085693 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 Feb 93 p 5

[Interview with Janos Gyurko, minister-designate at the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Area Development; by Klara Kocsis; place and date not given: "From the Danube Circle to the Minister's Chair—Environmental Dilemma: Development and Protection"]

[Text] There are few ministers who have definite ideas on all unresolved essential issues of their area before their appointment and who also have a ready-made plan to resolve the problems. Janos Gyurko is one of these rare ministers. He had good preparatory "schools" because, as a member of the Danube Circle and the Parliamentary Environmental Committee, he had a chance to get thorough and comprehensive information on the country's desperate environmental situation. He already then felt the need for seeking practical solutions to the problems.

[Kocsis] As a minister, what do you want to change?

[Gyurko] Although outsiders are often inclined to forget about the ministry's area development tasks and consider environmental protection the most important task, this is not the situation. I will definitely bear this duality of the ministry in mind. As for the actual changes, in the Bos issue, I believe that I do not have secrets, and everyone knows that I am against the water barrage system. I consider it my task to prevent any damage being caused to the Szigetkoz area or to other endangered areas by the power station. For example, through my measures, I have to help save the animals that live there—fishes, ants, crabs, snails, and so on—and the animals that hibernate in the mud. In addition to this, I have to protect the interests of the endangered agriculture, forestry and game management, and the fishery that looks after the "fish nurseries." Concrete actions are also expected to protect the water stock along the banks, as the water barrage system has endangered the so-called gravel mound in Csallokoz which is uniquely large in Europe, and which guarantees the drinking water supply

for millions. This gravel layer can supply 11 cubic kilometers of clear water per minute. For this reason, naturally only on a legal basis, I will step up against the constructions and investments that were carried out by the [CSFR] water lobby without permission. To protect the water stock and to extend the mains and sewage system, I would like to give designated funds to those local governments that are ready to make the necessary investments. To do this, we will have to coordinate our tasks with the finance and interior ministries. Directing the earmarked funds in this way will hopefully lead to improving the public utilities that have been lagging behind as a result of the lack of supportive measures in recent years.

[Kocsis] People are rightly dissatisfied because, in the past years, the air has become increasingly polluted, and the mountains of waste are beginning to bury us. What measures are you planning to stop the increase of waste?

[Gyurko] I mainly want to encourage producers and retailers to improve their waste management. I have studied the Western solutions, and I would like to follow the German, Dutch, and Finnish ideas that promote the collection and recycling of waste. Collection and recycling is almost at 70 percent in these countries. It is possible that the "green point" will also appear in Hungary on packaging that can be recycled because we definitely have to make progress in changing packaging technology. Unfortunately, domestic producers have little experience in this: Up to now, they have simply passed the full—and high—costs of outdated packaging to the consumers, instead of making the products cheaper by recycling. For this reason, I am in favor of taking over the developed Western packaging technologies, and I will support this. I expect the local governments to reexamine their—mostly bad—cost-benefit analyses because, in my experience, this is why they cannot finance the above investments locally.

[Kocsis] What will we get from the other fund; what changes can we expect in area development?

[Gyurko] The instructions of the previous National Planning Office simply were not implemented, and as a result of this, we inherited distorted conditions in development. Naturally, force will not be applied now, either. We will only introduce incentives. For example, those entrepreneurs who participate in investments in accordance with the goals of area development can receive tax allowances. To achieve this, we need exact rules and the strict supervision of compliance with these. The incentives would help increase investments in the regions and reduce unemployment especially in the danger zones, for example in Szabolcs County. However, in my view, a closer cooperation of the ministries and enacting several overdue laws are necessary to achieve this. In my view, it is unfortunate that, for years, we have been unable to draw up many important laws that would form the legal and constitutional basis of our ministry's operation. For this very reason, I will try to have these laws carried through parliament as fast as possible.

FIDESZ Official Views Defense Concept

AU2502192793 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 22 Feb 93 p 5

[Interview with Tamas Wachsler, parliamentary deputy of the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), by Zoltan Vereckei; place and date not given: "Human Rights Continue To Be Violated in the Army"]

[Text] "With the exception of some surface changes, I would say that the Army has been idling in the past two and a half years. A breakthrough has failed to materialize: the Army failed to adjust to the changed expectations both in its organization and its size, and the government's defense concept reflects the continuation of this approach. Therefore, the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] does not support the proposal in its current form," Tamas Wachsler told MAGYAR NEMZET. Tamas Wachsler added that the internal conditions of the Army have essentially remained unchanged. Human rights are repeatedly and harshly violated in the Army. Therefore, the FIDESZ will submit a note to the Constitutional Court demanding the review of some points of the service statute and of many internal orders.

[Vereckei] Numerous changes have been carried out in the Army in recent years. For example, a land army has been set up, the organization of airborne troops has been started, the air defense has been reorganized, and the reorganization of the dislocation system [diszlokacios rendszer] has begun. In the view of FIDESZ, are all these merely surface changes?

[Wachsler] The changes did not affect the essence. Compared with both the opportunities and the demands, the Hungarian Army is too big and inert, and its structure was built with the expectations of a conventional war in mind. The changes carried out so far left this character untouched, while we have to face a totally different situation today. There has been an increase in the chances of a confrontation that does not follow the "rules" of a conventional war. Our Army could not find answers to such a challenge, like driving back armed units that might infiltrate through our borders.

[Vereckei] The action units were set up for this purpose. In addition, in the aforementioned basic principles, the Defense Ministry also proposes to speed up the reaction time by having its own force of two brigades to repel such intrusions.

[Wachsler] Abdominal wounds cannot be treated with a plaster! The whole Army has to be reorganized! We need a smaller army that can be better equipped from the available funds. In case of such a reorganization, I would support the need to preserve the long-term real value of the defense budget. However, the defense concept stipulates the maintaining of the current Army size.

[Vereckei] At the same time, there is a desire to increase the number of professional soldiers, too, and this leads to a professional Army. There is agreement among the parties on this issue.

[Wachsler] FIDESZ also agrees with the need for a professional Army and with the need for conscripts and trained district defense units. However, it is unimaginable both to modernize the Army and maintain its current size at the same time. This is a mistake, or worse, a deliberate deception of the Parliament. It must be said that these two goals together demand several times the current budget amount.

[Vereckei] The concept was preceded by a lengthy coordination among the parties. Why did FIDESZ fail to come up with its proposals there? This way, FIDESZ can easily be accused of something of which the governing parties generally accuse the opposition, namely that they are striving for total opposition, rather than for a constructive attitude.

[Wachsler] I also said during the preliminary talks that this concept does not bring new essential elements, but it wants to make the parliament approve the modifications that have already been decided upon and carried out. This is an underestimation of the role of the parliament. The leaders of our Army have already made a series of decisions that would have required an approved defense concept. At the same time, I add that I agree with most of the changes, but I dislike the fact that they want to use the parliament as merely a signet.

[Vereckei] About some of the rules regulating the internal organization of the Army, FIDESZ thinks that these rules are violating human rights. Therefore, FIDESZ will turn to the Constitutional Court with this matter. Have you already formulated the petition?

[Wachsler] We came to an agreement on the controversial points last week, and we settled the differences of views existing between FIDESZ's legal and national security cabinets.

[Vereckei] Would you mention some controversial points?

[Wachsler] It is not easy to do this from a 60-page petition, but I will try. In our view, the right to human dignity, the right to the free choice of work and profession, and the right of personal freedom are often violated without any justification. Of course, these are not personnel issues, and they do not depend on officers or warrant officers; the institution itself is bad.

[Vereckei] Some people think that the proposed changes are threatening the ability of our Army to function!

[Wachsler] FIDESZ also accepts the basic principle according to which, given its nature, military service leads to the violation of constitutional rights. At the same time, there is a constitutional position according to which the violation of human rights can be allowed in laws available to all, and only to the limit of the existing coercive measures. In other words, it is all right if a soldier cannot leave the barracks, but it is not all right when the military police patrol can take a soldier to the barracks only because, in their view, the soldier in question failed to salute deliberately.

[Vereckei] Perhaps you know that three ministries, including the Defense Ministry, are setting up a collection of laws that adjusts the Hungarian legal system to the universal declaration of human rights.

[Wachsler] I welcome the fact that the government position and the FIDESZ position are in agreement on this matter, because the goal is to eliminate these limitations, regardless of party policy interests.

Ex-Intelligence Chief Named as CSCE Envoy

LD2602050193 Budapest MTI in English 2006 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Budapest, February 25 (MTI)—Hungary's former military intelligence chief is to be head of Hungary's Defence Ministry and Army permanent representation at the CSCE forum in Vienna.

Brig. Gen. Janos Kovacs, who was relieved of his post as Army Headquarters Staff Military Intelligence Office head as of March 2, will be appointed to the new post as a special envoy.

In place of Kovacs, the government appointed Brig. Gen. Lajos Fodor to head the Military Intelligence Office as of 2 March.

Fodor, 46, has been in the Army since 1965. For three years he commanded mechanised artillery and for two years was chief of the Army's mechanised artillery and tank units. For eighteen months, he has been deputy commander of ground troops in Szekesfehervar, western Hungary. He was promoted to general on 21 May 1992.

Estonian Foreign Minister Arrives for Visit

LD2602023793 Warsaw PAP in English 2142 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 25—Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Estonia Trivimi Velliste, upon his arrival in Warsaw, said his visit can be perceived as a continuation of last year's talks held by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski in Tallinn. The Warsaw talks will focus on political and economic relations between Poland and Estonia and the implementation of the already concluded agreements.

"Both countries are undergoing intensive transformations and Polish experience in this field is important for Estonia," Trivimi Velliste said adding that although contacts between both countries have just been established Estonia is very keen on Polish investments for the exchange with Poland is small at present.

Talks with Walesa, Others

LD2602170193 Warsaw PAP in English 1404 GMT 26 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 26—Deputy Sejm Speaker Andrzej Kern said after talks with Estonian First Deputy Prime Minister Trivimi Velliste on Friday [26 February] that they were an important element of restoring Poland's traditionally good relations with the Baltic region states.

Deputy Senate Speaker Alicja Grzeskowiak stressed that the talks concentrated on the necessity of closer cooperation with the Baltics. Grzeskowiak and Trivimi Velliste, who also is Estonia's foreign affairs minister, discussed the status of ethnic minorities in Estonia. The guest assured her that all human rights are respected in Estonia.

At the start of his official visit to Poland, Trivimi Velliste was received by President Lech Walesa.

Later in the day, Trivimi Velliste and Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski co-chaired Polish-Estonian plenary talks.

Walesa, Danish Prince on Intensified Cooperation

AU2602100593 Warsaw PAP in English 1952 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 24—President Lech Walesa received today Prince Henrik, the husband of Queen Margrethe of Denmark, to discuss Polish-Danish relations, the Presidential Press Office reported.

The two spoke of the need for the intensification of cooperation between Poland and Denmark in the wake of the transformations that had taken place in Central and Eastern Europe.

During the meeting, President Walesa and Prince Henrik, devoting special attention to ecology, discussed the possibilities of cooperation between the two countries in this field, especially in the protection of the Baltic Sea.

Other topics discussed during the meeting included problems of European security in connection with processes taking place in the CIS countries and possibilities of Poland's joining the EC and NATO structures, said the Presidential Press Office in an official communique issued after the talk.

The meeting was attended by the commander of the Danish armed forces, General Joergen Lyny, and the chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army, General Tadeusz Wilecki.

After the meeting, Prince Henrik told newsmen that the jury of the Europa Nostra international federation of associations protecting the cultural heritage and environment distinguished two Poles with special awards for their contribution to the reconstruction of monuments.

He reported that a honorary medal went to a parish priest from Kalisz Province for preserving a 17-century wooden church, and a special diploma was granted to an owner of a manor in Skierniewice Province for the exceptionally good reconstruction of the building.

Walesa, Zhelev Discuss Cooperation, Relations

LD2602062093 Warsaw PAP in English 1905 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 25—The signatories to the Polish-Bulgarian treaty on friendly relations and cooperation Presidents Lech Walesa and Zhelyu Zhelev told newsmen they hoped to rebuild Polish-Bulgarian relations caused by the collapse of communism.

"We must urgently make up for the losses in Polish-Bulgarian relations caused by our revolution," President Walesa told reporters after the meeting with the Bulgarian visitor.

Apart from the treaty, the respective ministers of the two countries signed on Thursday agreements on cooperation in education, culture and science.

President Zhelev told Lech Walesa Bulgaria would try to follow the Polish example in economic and political reforms and added he saw "huge possibilities as concerns Polish-Bulgarian cooperation."

Lech Walesa referred to the strivings on the part of several post-communist states to join West European structures and was quoted by presidential spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski as suggesting Poland, a member of the Visegrad group, as a forerunner in this respect.

Polish Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Andrzej Arendarski said in the wake of his talks with the Bulgarian president that Poland wanted cooperation with Bulgaria but the main obstacle on the road to smooth bilateral relations was Bulgaria's 500-million transfer

rouble debt to Poland. "The Bulgarian side promised to start paying back the debt soon," Arendarski said.

Arendarski added the sides agreed to hold regular consultations and announced that the first group of Polish officials and experts would leave for Bulgaria in a few weeks.

Zhelev Meets Suchocka, Ministers

AU2602100993 Sofia BTA in English 2022 GMT 25 Feb 93

["Exclusive report" by Veselin Yankov]

[Text] Warsaw, February 25 (BTA)—An official ceremony at Belweder Palace [presidential residence] today marked the beginning of President Zhelev's two-day visit to Poland. Mr. and Mrs. Zhelev arrived here last night at the invitation of Polish President Lech Walesa.

The two heads of state had a private meeting after which the two delegations held talks.

Later on Zhelyu Zhelev and Lech Walesa signed a 10-year Treaty for Friendly Relations and Cooperation Between Bulgaria and Poland. Upholding the tradition of friendship and the most valuable assets of bilateral cooperation, the two countries will develop relations on the basis of sovereignty, equality and respect for the rights proceeding from sovereignty, non-use of force or threat of force, inviolability of borders, and territorial integrity. Bulgaria and Poland will seek negotiated settlement to any problems, no side will interfere in the other's internal affairs, they will respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion and convictions, the document says.

Bulgaria and Poland will seek to cut down their armaments and armaments in Europe to the lowest possible level, sufficient for defence but insufficient for aggression. Bilateral relations will develop on a broad, stable and balanced basis, along the principles of equality and mutually advantageous partnership. The treaty sets a high priority on joint efforts to control organized crime, especially terrorism, drug trafficking, and arms contraband. The sides will conclude agreements in the area of economics, trade, finance and tourism.

Lech Walesa assessed the treaty as a major document, regulating relations between the two democratic countries. He said it opens a new chapter in their history and creates conditions for direct contacts between institutions and individuals. New vistas of fruitful and mutually advantageous cooperation opened up during Dr. Zhelev's visit, said Lech Walesa. According to him, CMEA [CEMA] is a thing of the past but the economic laws require cooperation and money. The Polish president said the two heads of state should work hard to make up the economic losses sustained in the last few years when bilateral relations were at a standstill.

Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev expressed his satisfaction with the treaty, which, in his view, should have been signed much earlier. He stressed that cooperation should develop exclusively on a bilateral basis. Having destroyed the old communist structures like the Warsaw Pact and CMEA, we have no right to give up bilateral contacts with their enormous potential, said Dr. Zhelev. We found that we have no differences on any of the topics we discussed, which is a prerequisite for active cooperation, said the Bulgarian president. Dr. Zhelev pointed out that agreements for the avoidance of double taxation and for mutual investment protection, as well as a free trade agreement, will be signed in near future.

Prof. Marin Dimitrov, Bulgarian minister of education, science and culture, and Zdobyslaw Flisowski, Polish minister of national education, signed an education agreement.

Deputy Foreign Ministers Dimitur Ikonomov of Bulgaria and Iwo Byczewski of Poland signed an intergovernment agreement for cultural and scientific cooperation.

President Zhelev and Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka focused on privatization. Ms. Suchocka is going to invite Bulgarian experts to familiarize themselves with Poland's experience in big privatization.

President Zhelev and Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski discussed questions of European and world peace and security, relations with the United States and the European Community, Bulgaria's relations with the Balkan countries, the Yugoslav crisis, and the situation in Macedonia.

Trade between the two countries and ways to cover Bulgaria's adverse trade balance were high on the agenda of the talks between President Zhelev and Polish Minister for Foreign Economic Cooperation Andrzej Arendarski.

The Bulgarian president also met with the marshal of the Sejm, Wieslaw Chrzanowski, and the marshal of the Senate, August Chelkowski, to discuss the promotion of parliamentary contacts.

After the official meetings, President Walesa and his wife gave an official dinner in honour of President Zhelev and his wife.

The official visit continues tomorrow.

Exchange Views on Yugoslav Conflict

LD2502223693 Warsaw PAP in English 1511 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 25—Visiting Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev following a meeting with Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka received Thursday [25 February] afternoon Poland's Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski to exchange views on the Yugoslav conflict.

Zhelev and Skubiszewski discussed the admissibility of the use of force to bring the conflict to an end and the implementation of the Owen-Vance plan and its possible modifications.

Minister Skubiszewski speaking to newsmen after the meeting stressed that he is against the introduction of visas for Bulgarian citizens wishing to visit Poland. Skubiszewski stressed however that there is a need for Polish-Bulgarian cooperation to control the spontaneous border traffic, especially in regard to those who treat Poland as a transit country in their journey to Germany where they later seek asylum. The Polish minister stressed that both countries should sign an agreement on readmission as soon as possible.

Zhelev Urges Intervention in Bosnia

AU2602145293 Paris AFP in English 1446 GMT 26 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 26 (AFP)—Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev called Friday [26 February] for an energetic Western intervention in former Yugoslavia before the fighting there turned the region into a "European Lebanon".

Zhelev, on a two-day official visit to Poland, suggested that all the key Western international organisations—the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, the European Community, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe as well as the United Nations—should intervene to put an end to a war "which will not stop of its own accord".

At a press conference here he said that neither Bulgaria nor any other Balkan country should intervene in former Yugoslavia.

"All the countries of the region are deeply marked by their shared history and ancient conflicts. A resort to armed force on their part could only further complicate the situation", he said.

He reproached the European Community over its failure to recognise Macedonia and accused it of applying "double standards" regarding the diplomatic recognition of the former Yugoslav republics. "The rule of consensus (within the Community) must apply equally in actions touching on member countries", he said.

On Thursday Zhelev and his host, President Lech Walesa of Poland, signed a friendship and cooperation treaty between their two countries. Later they signed further cooperation accords in the fields of education, culture and science.

Suchocka Describes Visit to Austria as 'Positive'

WS2502144093 Warsaw SIS in Polish 2211 GMT 24 Feb 93

["Press Conference of Prime Minister Suchocka After Her Visit To Austria"—SIS headline]

[Text]

The Main Purpose of the Visit

The Polish delegation did not sign any official document in Austria. According to the prime minister, the main purpose of the visit was to present Poland as a country that is stable and attractive for the Austrian businessmen.

The Opinion of the Polish Delegation

The Polish delegation, which, apart from the prime minister, included Andrzej Arendarski, minister of foreign economic cooperation, and Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, minister for EEC affairs, described the visit as positive.

The Meetings of the Prime Minister

In Austria the prime minister met with Chancellor Frantz Vranitzki, and President Thomas Klestil. The talks with the latter focussed on economic issues and on the European cooperation. One of the results of the talk is the promise that in two months' time, an Austrian economic mission will come to Poland.

The Automatic Licensing of Goods

The visit did not help, however, persuade the Austrians to stop the automatic licensing of goods that limits our exports to this country.

Repatriation of Poles in Former USSR Considered

AU2602103393 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Feb 93 p 1

[Article by Danuta Frey: "Can We Afford A New Repatriation?"]

[Text] Two major repatriation operations have not been enough to bring back to Poland all the Poles who were deported to the Soviet Union in the past. The first such operation took place in the early postwar years and the second in 1957.

According to the Main Statistical Office, there are still about 2.5 million Polish nationals on ex-Soviet territory The largest concentrations occur in Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. The idea of a new repatriation operation is very much alive in Poland and among Polish communities abroad.

The civic ombudsman recently petitioned the foreign minister to "undertake essential activity to prepare for a possible repatriation, if only on a limited scale, as of next year." Such a plan, laying down the method and conditions of a repatriation, would be prepared by a government commission. Agreements would have to be reached with those ex-USSR countries in whose territories there are Poles wishing to return to Poland.

The ombudsman suggests that the repatriated persons could be settled and employed on former state farms, especially in the voivodships of Szczecin, Koszalin,

Gorzow, and on land remaining under the control of the State Treasury. There is also land vacated by the Soviet Army on which these persons could be repatriated.

However, we are not prepared for such an operation, either financially or organizationally. The cost of a "limited" repatriation is estimated at 4 trillion zlotys, and no one knows where this money would come from. The complexity of such an operation is illustrated by the fact that the Germans and the Czechs attempted a repatriation operation on a much smaller scale and had to suspend it, and the Israelis are experiencing difficulties with their operation.

In Poland no one even knows how many applications for repatriation there would be and how many applicants could expect a positive response. Each repatriated person would have to have guaranteed accommodation, funds, and social security cover. "One cannot move these people to Poland and then tell them that they will have to fend for themselves because there is no accommodation, money, or jobs," says Tomasz Lis, deputy director of the Consulate and Migration Department in the Foreign Ministry. "This is not really part of the Foreign Ministry's scope, and should be discussed by the Economic and Social Committees of the Council of Ministers. In any case, the point of departure for any such repatriation must be a clear political decision at the government or parliamentary level, whereby the size and source of available funds must be indicated."

It is not known whether the Main Statistical Office figure of 2.5 million Poles is accurate or merely an estimate. A 1969 census revealed that there are 60,000 Poles in Kazakhstan, but last year there was talk of 250,000 Poles in that country, and this year there are said to be as many as 400,000. The higher the degree of nationalist tendencies and religious fundamentalism in the former Soviet republics, the greater the number of Poles eager to return to Poland.

The concept of "restricted repatriation" would very likely cause divisions among Polish communities, for no one knows what sort of criteria would determine the eligibility for repatriation of some people and the ineligibility of others. Tomasz Lis says that some people of Polish descent living in former Soviet territory wish to retain their Polish passports but have no wish to return to Poland. In that case, the basic path of action in Poland should be to render support to the exiled Poles, at least as long as Poland still has its major economic and social difficulties. Such support should include economic initiatives to raise the material and social status of the exiled communities. Consulates should be opened, at least during the initial period, in places with the largest concentration of Poles, such as Grodno, Brest, Irkutsk, and Tselinograd in Kazakhstan. Unfortunately, there is not even any money for that.

Cooperation With Russian Trade Officials Discussed

AU2602100393 Warsaw PAP in English 2230 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 24—Leslaw Podkanski, deputy minister for foreign economic relations, and his Russian counterpart Oleg Davidov met in Warsaw today to discuss forms of economic cooperation and the supply of strategic raw materials.

"We want to determine the scope and mode of trade exchange for 1993 so as to secure strategic interests of the state," Podkanski told PAP, adding that the increase in this year's trade turnover remains vital to both sides.

Podkanski said that the Polish-Russian treaty on trade and economic relations will also be discussed during the visit. "The Russian side is expected either to present its stand on the Polish draft treaty or forward its own document. I think we stand a chance of signing this treaty during President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Poland," he added.

He admitted that no substantial talks on mutual debt will be held at present as the question is to be discussed shortly before the Russian president's visit.

According to the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations, a substantial decrease in mutual supplies of commodities has been recorded in the last two years. A 45.1 percent drop in Polish exports and a 33.7 percent fall in imports against 1990 has been observed. The economic collapse in Russia as well as its financial difficulties were quoted by the ministry as the main causes of the deteriorating economic cooperation.

Omega II Program Within PHARE Signed

WS2502141593 Warsaw SIS in Polish 1915 GMT 24 Feb 93

["The Omega II Program, the Signing Ceremony"—SIS headline]

[Text] On 24 February of this year, the Government of the Republic of Poland and the European Community signed an agreement on the realization of the Omega II program within the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program.

The agreement was signed by Michal Kulesza, government plenipotentiary for the public administration reform, and Alexander H. Dijckmeester, ambassador of the European Community to Poland.

The purpose of the Omega II program is to depart from the centrally-controlled type of economy.

The program will be implemented through:

1. Assistance in the introduction of public administration reforms, which aim at modernizing public sector management and improving its efficiency;

2. Enhancing the economic skills and work methods of the staff that manages the public sector;

3. Assistance in the preparation and implementation of the program of decentralizing the administration;

4. Enhancing the efficiency of local self-governments as far as the realization of new managerial duties in the decentralized structure of the state is concerned.

The total budget of the program is 8.5 million ECU [European currency units].

Walesa Signs Law on Ownership Transformations

WS2502143593 Warsaw SIS in Polish 2034 GMT 24 Feb 93

["The Signing of the Law"—SIS headline]

[Text] Lech Walesa, president of the Republic of Poland, has signed the law of 5 February 1993 on ownership transformations of some state companies that are particularly important to the state's economy.

Sejm, Senate Discuss Industrial Norms, Neo-Nazis

LD2502004693 Warsaw PAP in English 2344 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 24: Several Sejm and Senate (lower and upper houses) committees on Wednesday [24 February] worked on a number of current issues, such as, adaptation of Polish industrial norms, standards, and measurements to the EC systems, the threat of bankruptcy facing Polish shipowners, and the neo-Nazis who continue illegal activities in southwestern Poland.

The committee for foreign economic relations and maritime economy stated that Polish shipowners are on the way to bankruptcy and sell away their ships to get money to survive. Admitting that the government has no clear policy in this field, Deputy Minister of Transport and Maritime Economy Zbigniew Sulatycki promised to launch government orders for the construction of new ships for the Polish shipowners in Polish shipyards.

Provincial Governor of Opole Ryszard Zembaczynski briefed the Sejm committee for ethnic minorities that the decisions to deport groups of neo-Nazis had little effect and the unwanted persons are coming back. He said that Polish law is helpless in the face of anti-Polish articles published by local German-language monthly Schlesien report.

He pointed out that German consular missions in Wroclaw and Opole are organizing "informal groups and meetings with town mayors and village leaders without the knowledge of the governor and local governments."

The Senate committee for initiatives and legislative work initially examined the bill on dishonest market competition control but it will debate it on March 3.

The same Senate committee also recommended changes in the bill on the review of judges who failed to be independent in the years 1944-89. The committee pointed out, among other things, that the proposed definition of judge's independence is unclear.

14 Generals Retire From Active Army Service

AU2602135093 Warsaw PAP in English 1748 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 25—Minister of Defense Janusz Onyszkiewicz and Chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces General Tadeusz Wilecki were among the guests at a ceremony held in Warsaw today marking the retirement of 14 generals from active service in the Polish Army.

According to the staff director of the Ministry of Defence Zbigniew Skoczylas, there are currently 78 generals in active service in the Polish Army. The entire staff of high ranking officers has been totally replaced since 1989.

In other European countries, there are about 1,300 soldiers for each general. In order for Poland to meet that standard, there should be 220 generals in active service, Skoczylas added.

Court Says Priest's Murder Trial Will Continue

AU2602100893 Warsaw PAP in English 1254 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 24—The trial of former interior ministry officials Gen. Wladyslaw Ciaston and Gen. Zenon Platek, accused of complicity in the 1984 murder of pro-Solidarity Catholic priest Jerzy Popieluszko, will resume on March 17, the Warsaw Provincial Court announced today.

The court was giving its response to an appeal in October 1992 from the prosecuting counsel for the case to be returned to the Prosecutors Office for further investigation "with the aim of bringing prosecutions against others" allegedly implicated in the murder of Father Popieluszko. In the court's opinion, the prosecuting counsel had failed to present enough evidence to justify the widening of investigations.

Yugoslav President Arrives for Talks With Iliescu

LD2502134393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1145 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Bucharest, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—Federal Republic of Yugoslavia President Dobrica Cosic arrived today in Bucharest on a one-day visit at the invitation of Romanian President Ion Iliescu.

Although this is not an official visit, Dobrica Cosic was given a state reception at Bucharest's Otopeni Airport. President Iliescu and aides greeted President Cosic at the airport.

Upon arrival, the two presidents left for a Bucharest villa, where they started face-to-face talks. [passage omitted]

Iliescu, Cosic Statements on Arrival

AU2502124393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1007 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Statements by FRY President Dobrica Cosic and Romanian President Ion Iliescu, at an arrival ceremony at Bucharest's Otopeni International Airport—live; Cosic speaks in Serbo-Croatian with passage-by-passage translation into Romanian, and Iliescu speaks in Romanian with passage-by-passage translation into Serbo-Croatian]

[Text] [Reporter] Dear listeners, good morning. I am reporting from the official hall of Otopeni Airport, where the plane carrying Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, arrived at 1158 [0958 GMT]. As is known, he was to have arrived in Bucharest last Thursday [18 February], but because of a mild ailment he postponed his visit until today. After the arrival ceremony, at which the guard of honor was presented, the national anthems of the two countries were played, the guard of honor was reviewed, and the two presidents attended by officials are now heading for the official hall. As far as today's official talks between the two heads of states are concerned, they will mainly focus on events in the former Yugoslavia, their concerns for peaceful solutions to the crisis, embargo issues, and aspects of the international humanitarian relief effort.

At this moment, the two presidents have entered the hall and stopped at our microphones to make short statements.

[Cosic] It is my pleasure and honor to be in Bucharest, the capital of Romania, a country that is very close and friendly to us, that is, to the people of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serbian people. It is a great joy to me that I will have the opportunity to talk with Mr. Iliescu, convinced that our good and friendly relations can become even better and even more substantial, because these are in the vital interests of both our peoples, and not only of our two peoples, but also of the whole of the Balkans.

This is going to be a excellent opportunity for me to hear Mr. Iliescu speak about our cooperation and about his views on the crisis in Yugoslavia, that is, the situation in the Balkans, convinced that—and I can say this in advance—there can never be any major or essential difference between us. On the contrary, I expect only accord and understanding.

[Iliescu] We welcome you with pleasure on Romania's soil and in Bucharest and we are happy to have this opportunity to welcome you, considering that this is President Cosic's first visit to Romania. We would have been happier if this visit had taken place under normal conditions so that it would have been an opportunity for you to get to know our country better and an opportunity for broader talks on issues of joint interest. Taking into consideration the tragic times that the neighboring nation and the peoples of Yugoslavia are going through, we believe that these contacts and the discussions that we are going to hold will help us to understand the situation better and to try our best to make our contribution to the normalization of the situation.

We have always advocated and continue to advocate political solutions. We are ready to do all we can to make a contribution to finding political solutions. We have always assisted and continue to assist all those who are making efforts in this respect. We are regarding our meeting as a contribution to this goal. Welcome to Romania. We hope this will be the first of several visits that will give you the opportunity to get to know Romania, too.

[Reporter] These were the two statements, the two short declarations, made by Messrs. Cosic and Iliescu. I would also like to inform you that the Yugoslav delegation also includes the Federal Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic and Mr. Marko Kicevic, deputy minister of transportation.

Belgrade Radio Reports Arrival

AU2502161493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Slobodan Jankovic report from Bucharest]

[Text] Our president was welcomed at the Bucharest airport and given a state reception. Both national anthems were played and Presidents Cosic and Iliescu inspected the honor guard. Prior to that, Iliescu had gone inside the plane as soon as it had stopped in order to greet the guest from Belgrade and demonstrate the attention with which Bucharest is receiving and respecting Dobrica Cosic. Our president is accompanied by Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic.

In the statements made at Otopeni Airport, the two presidents stressed the need for a political solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, as well as for neighborly relations between the two countries.

Cosic said, among other things, the following: I believe that our good and friendly relations could be even better

and more substantive in the interest of both peoples, and not only our peoples but the entire Balkans. This will be a good opportunity to discuss cooperation and learn the views of our host, President Iliescu, on the Yugoslav and Balkan crisis. He also said: I am convinced that there cannot and will not be significant differences between us. On the contrary, I expect only congruence and understanding.

Replying to our president, Iliescu said the following: We would have preferred this visit to have taken place in normal conditions so that we can hold more comprehensive talks on our relations and our common interests. In view of the tragic situation in which the peoples of Yugoslavia have found themselves, we think that our talks will offer an opportunity to get further acquainted and contribute to the settlement of the problems as much as we can. We have been and still are in favor of a political solution, and are ready to do everything possible to contribute to a political solution of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. This meeting is held with this purpose in mind, Iliescu stressed.

As we are reporting, the official talks are under way. After that, Cosic and Iliescu will hold a news conference at the seat of the Romanian Government, where the talks are being held.

Statements Issued at Talks' Conclusion

AU2502185893 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Statements by Romanian President Ion Iliescu and FRY President Dobrica Cosic at Cotroceni Palace in Bucharest on 25 February—live; Iliescu speaks in Romanian, with passage-by-passage translation into Serbo-Croatian; Cosic speaks in Serbo-Croatian, with passage-by-passage translation into Romanian; following is from the Romanian]

[Text] [Iliescu] Permit us to make a short statement. To begin with, I would like to say that President Cosic's visit to Bucharest is a political signal of the will of these neighboring countries, despite our current hardships and the dramatic and tragic situation experienced by the peoples of the Yugoslav region. Therefore, our desire is, on the one hand, to maintain the good traditional relations between our countries and peoples and, on the other, to contribute to the extent that we can to finding political solutions to the Yugoslav conflict.

In our discussions, we exchanged views on the overall situation, briefed each other on the ongoing developments, and exchanged views and opinions on the evolution of the conflict in Yugoslavia and the initiatives and efforts by international parties and the UN Security Council to find solutions to the conflict in Yugoslavia, particularly in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

President Cosic briefed us on current developments, following the aggravation of the conflict in Croatia, Krajina, and the continuing conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Both we and the FRY side are putting our hope in the forthcoming negotiations in New York and in the recent initiatives of the United States and Russia which support these negotiations. We also expressed concern about initiatives that may lead to an aggravation of the states of conflict.

As far as we are concerned, we reiterated Romania's position in support of the efforts to find a political solution. We believe that any outside military intervention can only aggravate the situation. As a matter of fact, the entire experience of the evolution of the conflict in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina so far proves that the military route cannot offer solutions. Military interests can only extend the conflict. There is such a danger of its extension in the Balkan region. As far as we are concerned, we are categorically opposed to such solutions. Romania will never let itself become involved in military conflicts in this area.

We also talked about bilateral relations and the tense moments on the Danube. We exchanged views on this matter and the representatives of our transportation ministries also examined certain concrete technical aspects. Therefore, on the one hand, we reiterated our determination to observe the Security Council resolutions completely. We have applied the embargo measures not with pleasure, because the embargo has a negative impact not only on Yugoslavia and the peoples of Serbia and Montenegro, but it is also an embargo against ourselves. Our economy is bearing a very serious burden in this embargo. According to estimates by our economists, the consequences of this embargo amount to some $7 billion so far. They consist of the direct consequences caused by the interruption of certain economic and commercial exchanges and production sharing ventures, as well as indirect consequences connected with the interruption of Danube transit, road transportation, and so forth.

Therefore, we did not apply this embargo with pleasure, but rather as an obligation arising from our capacity as a member of the UN. We believe it is of maximum importance to find political solutions for normalizing the situation in Yugoslavia and eliminating the embargo and to limit all possibility of this conflict spreading in the area. We also discussed the issue of political initiatives to create a climate of expanding Balkan cooperation even in the current circumstances, particularly when the embargo is over, in order to integrate the joint efforts of the Balkan countries in the all-European process.

Therefore, out of concern for the current difficult situation, we expressed the mutual desire and political determination to take steps to promote peace in our region and to consolidate friendly relations and bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Balkans.

[Cosic] Ladies and gentlemen, I have the pleasure, and at the same time I express my satisfaction over the understanding shown by President Iliescu in connection with

the situation and destabilization in Yugoslavia and with the effects of this destabilization on the Balkans. Our level of mutual understanding is so high that I can immediately subscribe to it completely, and it is possible that I could be so brief as to let you proceed to your lunch. Nevertheless, since your curiosity is so professional, I feel compelled to answer this curiosity by saying a few words.

I can tell you that here, and now, in Bucharest, I am experiencing a moment of historic significance. To live in the Balkans, to be neighbors with someone in the Balkans, to have Balkan neighbors, and to stay a lasting friend; this is indeed a historic wonder, miracle, and experience. This miracle and experience are felt and experienced by the Romanian and Serbian peoples, that is by the peoples of Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro. If the past has been like that, how could the present be any different? It is indeed quite fortunate for both our peoples and the Balkans that our present has much in common with the past.

The peoples of Serbia and Montenegro will never forget the present hardships and very difficult situation, nor the friendship shown them at such a hard time. Romania, through its friendly attitude, has shown not only friendship toward the peoples of Serbia and Montenegro but has proved its understanding of its role and mission as well as understanding for the present historic course and the current evolution of mankind.

Having gone through a brave revolution, Romania has now entered another revolution, namely the democratization of society, a revolution we have also entered and which must yield favorable results for our bilateral relations and for the creation of a civilization in the Balkan peninsula.

Our talks have emphasized the existence of a common point of view, but the conditions for cooperation are extremely difficult. To our satisfaction, the moral strength and determination we are displaying at this time are much beyond the obstacles we are facing, something which has had a particular significance for what we have accomplished today in this city. We are not going to astound anyone with any kind statements. We will, however, call on our peoples to do all they can to preserve our cooperation and develop our relations.

We have to consolidate the Balkans and we have to calm the hotbeds there. We have to eliminate the religious wars in Bosnia-Hercegovina. We have to ensure that the world becomes more rational in the policy it is promoting in the Balkans. I am convinced that the motto known in the 19th century, namely the Balkans to the Balkan peoples, will become topical again. The motto should be the following, however: The Balkans to the Balkan peoples within an integrated Europe and within the European trend.

The crisis we are experiencing, the sanctions that have been imposed against Yugoslavia, do not concern only Yugoslavia. We are talking about a crisis and sanctions that concern the entire Balkan region. These collective sanctions resemble the Middle Ages rather than a situation of the modern world and, actually, we can draw a parallel with the Inquisition period and not with a Europe that is moving in the direction of development.

I would like to assure the Romanian people that our government will do all it can to solve this crisis and to remove the current reasons and nonreasons connected with the situation created not only in our country, but also in the Balkans, and it will do all it can to eliminate the undesired situation on the Danube, a situation which, despite our own desire, will lead to the separation of peoples, who throughout the ages were always together, and who will not permit such a separation.

I am glad that Mr. Iliescu thinks the same way; he also thinks that these problems are common problems, but of course they do not involve the same responsibility for removing these difficulties. I am also glad that the Romanian Government advocates efforts in the direction of eliminating the unhappy situation that has emerged in the Balkans.

I hope that another element will be added to our relations, namely the presence of ethnic minorities. Fortunately, the times have passed when one could not speak about our ethnic minorities, not even during hunting or hunting parties. I want to assure the Romanian people that—regardless of what might happen to the Romanian minority in Yugoslavia—we will do all we can to eliminate any reason for dissatisfaction, because we are talking of quiet, hard-working people, and people who are ready at all times to cooperate with all of us. We are convinced that these people can and have the right to have the highest standard of living. If, however, an incident occurs, you should not—not even for a single moment—read more into it than just an incident, which these days can happen anywhere, especially in the conditions in which we are living.

Expressing thanks to the host and his aides, I want to convey the most friendly greetings and feelings of friendship and neighborliness to the Romanian people.

Cosic Concludes Visit, Departs

AU2502190893 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Excerpts] The president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Dobrica Cosic, concluded his visit to Bucharest this evening. The departure ceremony took place at Otopeni Airport where the guest was seen off by President Ion Iliescu and other officials.

This morning after the arrival, the two presidents held a meeting. Then the official talks began, which were attended by the delegations of the two countries. The Romanian delegation included, among others, Teodor Melescanu, minister of foreign affairs; Emilian Manciur, chief of protocol of the presidency, and on behalf of the Yugoslav side, Ilija Djukic, minister of

foreign affairs of Yugoslavia; Milas Vujicic, minister of transportation; and Dragoslav Rancic, adviser to the president of Yugoslavia.

After the talks, the two presidents met with the press. [passage omitted]

Papers View Cosic's Visit

AU2602100093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0850 GMT 26 Feb 93

[From the press review]

[Excerpt] Bucharest, ROMPRES 26/2/1993—The brief visit in Bucharest by Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic is in the focus of the dailies of February 26. ADEVARUL writes that Yugoslav sources leaked one of the themes approached during the talks of the Yugoslav delegation was the possibility that Romania, maybe followed by Bulgaria, should promote a Balkan initiative for a political settlement of the crisis in Bosnia and Hercegovina. "As a matter of fact," the paper writes, "like we could see lately, Romania seems to have the role to smooth some discrepancies or variances among the stands of the various Balkan states, being likely to become the promoter of a Balkan initiative for a political settlement in Bosnia. It seems that Romania's attitude in this respect is appreciated both by the U.S. and by Russia."

COTIDIANUL writes about "the secrecy mania which even the Chinese communist leaders want to give up" that preceded and accompanied, the paper says, the Yugoslav-Romanian summit talks, the only touch with the press being some "general statements. Mr. Iliescu only repeated what he had said before, while Mr. Cosic made a statement according to which it is 'a historic wonder' that there can be two neighbour states in the Balkans that should not fight against each other." The Yugoslav president referred to the ghost of dissemination in Europe of Islamism "wishing to win in this way new adepts to the cause of ethnic cleansing" and equated the United Nations with the Middle Ages inquisition, expressing in the end the happiness that "Mr. President Iliescu thinks the same."

EVENIMENTUL ZILEI shows that the Danube blockage by 12 Serbian barges is a gesture "absolutely hostile to Romania." In this context, it is quite normal that the Romanian and foreign journalists should wonder: How is it possible that President Dobrica Cosic should come to Bucharest while on the Danube the Serbians do a gesture to provoke the Romanians? And how is it possible that President Ion Iliescu should receive him?" The newspaper explains this situation by the fact that actually the power in former Yugoslavia is in the hands of the nationalist, led by the Serb Slobodan Milosevic and "it is not impossible that the Danube blockage should be an act meant to lead to the failure of the meeting" that ought to single out a compromise solution in Bosnia. "The fact that the visit did take place, that the presidents did manage not to make public statements on the incident make us believe that the rude trap was shunned." [passage omitted]

Foreign Ministry Protests Danube Blockade

AU2502151393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] In connection with the situation that has been created through the obstruction by Yugoslav tugboats of the navigable part of the Danube, the Romanian Foreign Ministry has repeatedly taken political and diplomatic steps to make the Yugoslav authorities take action and immediately clear the traffic in the area.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman told our correspondent that the answers received so far have given it to understand that the measure was taken locally, under pressure from the dockers trade union.

The Yugoslav authorities have stated that they will make efforts to clarify the situation and to achieve the normal resumption of international traffic on the Danube.

The Romanian Foreign Ministry has stressed that this action is clearly in breach of all international conventions and regulations and is essentially a retaliation to the embargo and economic sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council. As a matter of fact, such actions have clearly been condemned by the UN Security Council.

In connection with this issue, our correspondent Cornel Sorescu has reported that the tugboat Oratac, which is on the Gogosut stretch of the river, has moved with three barges toward the Yugoslav port of Prahovo. Navigation at kilometer 856 continues to be blocked.

Blockade Causing 'Pressing' Situation

AU2602124093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 26 Feb 93

[Text] In connection with the blocked navigation at kilometer 856, near the Romanian locality Izvoarele, by a barrage of 12 Yugoslav barges which are obstructing the navigable part of the Danube, our correspondent Cornel Sorescu informs that several convoys have begun arriving in the region from upstream and downstream and are waiting to pass through the Iron Gates II sluice. The situation is becoming quite pressing owing to the ever greater number of waiting ships. It is worthwhile mentioning that the following vessels are waiting at kilometer 855, near Gruia locality: Khan Kardam Bulgarian motor tugboat; the Russian tugs Ilyushkin and Baku, with 5 barges, and Gripov, with three barges; and the Romanian vessel Filiasi. Upstream from the Iron Gates II hydropower station, at kilometer 866, the following vessels are waiting: the Slovak tug Javorina, the Hungarian tug Mohacs, with seven barges; the Russian tug Bozhenko, with five barges; and the Bulgarian vessel (Kanterval).

The Port Authority of Drobeta Turnu Severin has said that the Austrian tugboat Linz with four barges was

moving upstream toward Iron Gates II. Other convoys sailing under various flags are heading both upstream and downstream to the respective area. The Drobeta Turnu Severin Port Authority has informed the convoys and the Danube navigation agencies about the navigation blockade at kilometer 856 and recommended that the vessels cast anchor in nearby harbors or other safe places until the situation is clarified.

Our correspondent says that the UN experts present in the area are aware of the situation created. The authorities of the Yugoslav port of Prahovo were contacted by the Romanian side in connection with unblocking the navigation on the Danube, but no concrete results have been registered thus far.

Assembly Official Urges Land Law Amendment

AU2502223993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1132 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/2/1993—"It is both possible and necessary to amend the land law", sustains Dan Cristian Popovici, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies' Agricultural Commission in an interview with daily MERIDIAN.

About some views that the land law ought to be substantively amended or even annulled, the commission chairman said: "Such proposals unfortunately express sometimes political options instead of vital interests. Or, when it is about food safety the political game ought to be eliminated. To abrogate the law would be insane and would generate more tension".

Referring to the laws complementary to the land law, Dan Popovici opined that the transfer of property in agriculture was affected also by the absence of normative acts to fit the new system of relations, as well as by the absence of institutions to handle these relations. Popovici stresses the need that, with the provision of the legislative framework (the farm credit law, the cadaster law, the lease law) a package of measures should be also endorsed to help revigorating the industrial branches adjacent to agriculture, both with domestic resources and by attracting foreign investors.

Senate Approves Land Leasing Bill

AU2502223393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1452 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 25/2/1993—Thursday, February 25, the Romanian Senate approved the bill on land leasing, a tradition in Romanian agriculture until before World War II.

The land leasing law was repealed by decree in 1959. Considering the current situation in Romanian agriculture, the law is absolutely necessary since a great part of those who own land live in towns and cities and others have professions unrelated to agriculture and cannot work their own land.

The law provides protection for the owner and stimulates the lessee who invests work, capital and a lot of initiative to make a good part of the agriculture function. Concurrently the law creates the conditions for an agricultural system based on modern technologies so as to increase both agricultural production and environment protection.

The leasing contract will be signed for at least 5 years, with some exceptions when it can cover less than two.

Karadzic Says U.S. Airdrop 'Uncalled-for'

AU2402182293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1604 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Slobodan Jankovic; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Jankovic] Mr. Karadzic, what is your reaction to the decision of the U.S. President to send humanitarian aid to eastern Bosnia via air?

[Karadzic] I think that this is a highly uncalled-for, very risky, and dangerous decision. I believe that nothing will come out of it (?in these two communes). The aid will probably be dropped on few occasions, and the aid might land on the Serbian side due to wind, since the Serbian trenches are very close to there.

This is a dangerous precedent, and I believe that the U.S. Administration made a mistake by allowing itself to be deceived by the alarming and dramatized (?cries) from the Muslim side, bearing in mind that the convoys are nevertheless passing through by land. The danger is that the Muslim side will definitely fire at these aircraft—that is, they will certainly not miss an opportunity to provoke a crisis and incidents so that international military intervention could take place.

The Muslim side is doomed from the military point of view; they have absolutely no chance to move the lines. On the contrary, they are facing defeat if they do not sign a peace treaty soon and call off the state of war and the agreement with [Croatian President] Tudjman. The Serbian side can defeat them militarily without anyone's help, and their only hope is to provoke a sort of military intervention.

Perhaps we, the Serbs, have made a mistake by not defeating them. We did not want to defeat them because we wanted an agreement and not a clear military triumph. Namely, our victory is confined to the borders of our territories, and this is something that gives us the moral right and strength, as we have not set our foot on others' territories. If the Muslim side wants military intervention and control over the entire Bosnia-Hercegovina through military intervention, this will definitely bring about the prolongation and escalation of the war, and the international participants should know that. Regarding the Serbian participants, we must keep in mind that we must not leave the Serbian Bosnia—that is, the Serbian part of Bosnia, that is, the Serbian Republic—not only because more than 1.5 million [words indistinct] the borders of Serbia, Romania, and partially also Bulgarian borders, would in some crisis situations be the borders of very adversely disposed countries with territorial appetites. In such a situation Serbia would [words indistinct]. For this reason, we rightly consider that by defending the republic of Serbian Krajina and the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia- Hercegovina] we are defending the entire Serbianhood [Srpstvo] and Serbia. That is why Serbia gives us full moral assistance and the assistance in food and medication, as the Serbian people are perfectly aware that an attack on any part of Serbianhood would mean an attack on the entire Serbianhood.

[Jankovic] [Words indistinct] at the negotiations in New York. Have you decided, are you going or not?

[Karadzic] Yes. A delegation will go, and I will probably lead it. We are thinking like this, if New York is a sort of finale, if we are to accept anything then I must be present there, if we are to reject anything then I must also be present.

I believe that Vance and Owen [cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia] have problems with [Bosnia-Hercegovina President] Izetbegovic and his presence. We do not want anyone to have problems with our presence, although we have plenty of work at home and although we are not treated there as we should have been—mind you, I have heard that the visa is less restrictive this time and that we will be allowed to move unhindered within the radius of 25 miles around the UN, which is a substantial concession on the part of the U.S. Administration.

[Jankovic] At what stage are the talks now, and what comes next in your opinion?

[Karadzic] I think that the talks are where they were in terms of progress. The only novelty is that we have U.S. and Russian representatives. I personally believe that if the conference wishes to succeed they should not insist on maps. Nobody has the right to sign the maps. It is the people who sign maps. I think that all our efforts should be directed toward ending the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is facilitated by the military document that has already been signed by the Serbs and the Croats; therefore, only the Muslims still have to sign it, or alternatively to draw a new document, a peace pact or a peace treaty, by which the possibility of further battles and further war in Bosnia-Hercegovina would be eliminated and peace restored. In peace it is then much easier to draw borders, carry out resettlement if need be, and regulate all other relations.

[Jankovic] You have mentioned the Russians and the Americans as the representatives of two former superpowers. To what degree has their involvement in the negotiations contributed toward progress in the talks rather than stagnation?

[Karadizc] Well, I see America and Russia entering the talks as a positive aspect, by all means. Nothing can been achieved in this world without America and Russia. So far we have witnessed the crucial influence of the regional powers, like Germany, which indirectly—via its allies in Europe and via the European countries that it had blackmailed—exerted considerable influence on the events in Yugoslavia and probably crucially influenced the disintegration of Yugoslavia.

Had America and Russia had the crucial influence at the events in Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia probably would not have disintegrated, or this would not have been a bloody disintegration. It would have probably been insisted upon to recognize the nations' right to self-determination. I think that it is good that Russia is present. No matter what government there might be in Russia, it cannot be anti-Serbian, as the ties and tradition of our relations are very strong. Besides, Russia surely sees that we serve as a training ground for the breakup of Russia. India sees and knowns that this might befall it one day, namely, to be broken into numerous little, dependent states. Spain sees something similar. Italy cannot be all that calm as secessionism and separatism are present there, too. China can also feel threatened, primarily regarding Tibet. The only great and real danger is Germany and Turkey interfering as regional powers. America and Russia are welcome, in my opinion.

Karadzic Comments on U.S. Talks, Turkish Role

AU2502213993 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1925 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Vesna Jugovic; in Belgrade "this afternoon", 25 Feb—recorded]

[Text] [Jugovic] Mr. Karadzic, the latest news from Washington is that the U.S. planes will air drop aid to all three peoples, that is to the Serbs, Muslims, and Croats. How do you explain this decision by Clinton and everything connected with this aid?

[Karadzic] It appears to me that with this decision the administration is trying to distance itself from any partiality in the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina and from the idea of military intervention, thus making the flights of its planes safer in relation to what is happening on the ground. In any case, this is much better, because it is understandable that if this is humanitarian aid it should be delivered to all three peoples, although I still think that this decision, about parachuting aid, was extremely erroneous.

[Jugovic] Should we fear some kind of escalation of fighting if one of the other peoples decided to down these planes? Is there any realistic possibility of this?

[Karadzic] I sincerely think that the Muslims will not miss this opportunity to shoot down U.S. planes. As is known, the Serbs did not shoot down the Italian plane, but our aircraft subsequently were banned from flying. Everyone knew that the Serbs did not do it, but the sanctions were introduced against the Serbs. So, I am now convinced that neither CNN nor any other television station from the West that are equally biased, would carry the news that the Serbs did not do it. We are sincerely afraid of the entire operation because we are convinced that the Muslims are actually waiting for such an opportunity to escalate the fighting.

[Jugovic] As we all know, Turkey has supported this proposal and decision by Clinton. The Turkish ambassador in Washington today also directly expressed his support. Turkey has also offered direct assistance, aircraft, and their airports. As we can see from the latest news, there is concern in the United Nations about this, but the Turkish ambassador even said that it would be bad if Turkey were not included in this operation.

[Karadzic] Turkey is losing its nerve, especially President Ozal, and, as is evident, so is its ambassadors. It was hoping that others would do the job for it and that it could walk into the Balkans and Europe as a regional power, that is, as an empire. It is clear that Turkey wants to be present and partial in the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

I think that these parcels will be packed in the United Nations, that we will have the opportunity to watch what is put in them, and that the parcels will be dropped to all three sides, although I do not expect this operation to last long because all of the shortcomings of this operation will soon become evident.

If Turkey were allowed to supply arms and ammunition to the Muslim side in this way, then this would certainly result in chaos and escalation of the war.

[Jugovic] What is your view of the change of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] commander in Zagreb? General Nambiar has gone, whether voluntarily ....

[Karadzic] I do not know the true motives of General Nambiar. We have a very high opinion of him as an honest officer and person who tried to remain impartial as much as he could. We do not know whether something better or worse will result. We do not expect anything better because the fact is that those forces who pushed Bosnia-Hercegovina into a war did not want impartial people in it. This was evident when General MacKenzie was replaced. He clearly demonstrated that he did not want to be partial. They do not need such people. Perhaps Nambiar was also too partial, impartial [Karadzic corrects himself]

[Jugovic] Last night we heard from the United Nations, from Cyrus Vance, that the United Nations will ask that the leaders of all three warring sides come quickly to New York. The Muslim Radio Sarajevo reported again today, however, that Alija Izetbegovic is not going to the peace talks in New York.

[Karadzic] We are going. We will go, regardless of that. We will go.

[Jugovic] When are you going?

[Karadzic] Probably tomorrow. We will go despite all the threats and pressure. We are simply interested in peace, a political solution to this crisis. We will do our utmost in this respect. The international community must soon realize, however, that the Muslims favor war.

[Jugovic] The second round of talks should therefore start in New York. Maps are again at the center of attention. As far as I have been informed, the maps that are being proposed always turn out to be to the detriment of Serbs. What will happen this time? Have you already been informed about them in advance?

[Karadzic] Yes, the remark that every time they propose maps they are worse, is correct, as if they want to please the Muslim side and is if this were not important to the Serbian side. The situation in the field, however, does not support this tactic. We simply do not have to accept anything that is unacceptable, especially in view of the fact that we are talking about Serbian lands, Serbian regions, where Serbs live and where they have been defending these lands with their blood. We will not accept them. We simply think that if they want the conference to fail, then let them insist on the maps. We will help the conference. We will offer new maps, much more reasonable maps that make more sense from the geographic point of view, the point of view of communications, economics, maps of the region populated with, for instance, two equal ethnic communities, because in the provinces where there are three ethnic communities a coalition of two against the third is almost certain. It is easier to deal with problems in the communities where there are two ethnic communities. In any case, I think that they must leave the maps aside for better times. Our proposal will be that we primarily concentrate on peace, peace that would be acceptable and honorable for all, peace that will not have to be safeguarded by foreign troops.

We simply think that foreign troops are not needed in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and that no solution can be imposed. After all, President Clinton said this himself, and we support the view of President Clinton in this respect.

[Jugovic] Will you be kind enough to explain to us the role of Bartholomew, the new negotiator who has joined Vance and Owen.

[Karadzic] I think that the United States as the only boss in the world at present wants to show this by appointing Bartholomew. They have not rejected the Vance-Owen plan, but have offered reinforcement, and this reinforcement will certainly be significant.

[Jugovic] The reinforcement from the United States?

[Karadzic] Yes, yes. Besides, Mr. Vance is an eminent American. The fact that he is a representative of the United Nations is of secondary importance. The United States certainly wants a more important role. In order to accomplish this it has invited Russia to be present in all this.

[Jugovic] Yesterday we heard that during the informal consultations in the Security Council the British and the French were opposed to taking any part in humanitarian help involving airplanes, and that, if I may say so, they defended themselves by saying that they are already taking part in the convoy on the ground. We can see some changes in the positions of the British and the Italians, after all. They were against this kind of aid, now they are for it, without, of course, participating in it. What is your view about these changes?

[Karadzic] I think that this involves pressure, and that they are actually giving in to the pressure of a section of the U.S. Administration. In other words, there are a few countries in the world that would be prepared to oppose a trend in international politics, because this is a world without balance. This is a world in which the rule of the stronger prevails, a world in which international law has been ignored. Countries do not want to run the risk of revenge in trade or any other sense, since these relations among different countries are extremely merciless. Therefore, I think that many countries are agreeing with something in which they themselves do not want to participate.

Many countries in the Security Council have so far refrained from voting, even though they would have gladly voted in opposition, because a dangerous precedent is being made right in front of them that could affect them, too. This refers to India or China, who are facing the danger of disintegration. If everything succeeded in the case of Yugoslavia, and then in Russia, or the Soviet Union, the Russian Federation itself, then a wave of breaking up large and complex countries would certainly hit India and China. These countries are restraining themselves. China has the right of veto, but is not prepared to use it simply because it wants to protect itself from the blows that could follow.

[Jugovic] Finally, the behavior of Russia is important. Yesterday we heard that the Russian deputy foreign minister stated that Russia is expected to support Clinton's proposal. There has been no official decision yet, however. We are interested in what your expectations are. Will they be in favor or against this kind of humanitarian aid?

[Karadzic] It all depends on when Russia will start to conduct an independent policy. If this happens soon, then Russia will declare its prerogatives in the Balkans, its interests in this part of Europe, and will be present in a constructive way that will establish balance. The sooner this happens the better. I expect this to happen regardless of whether this government stays or is replaced by a new one. The fact is that the Russian interests are also permanent, regardless of who runs the country. They cannot change when it come to the Balkans. Russia can accept and support something in the U.S. plan, assuming, of course, that this is not military intervention, but indeed humanitarian aid.

[Jugovic] Thank you very much for this interview and we wish you success in the second round of talks.

Karadzic Comments on Serb Unity, Air Drops

LD2502163893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1446 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Loznica, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—This is the first time in the history of the Serb people that all Serbs share the same conviction, and that conviction is that we should have our own state, i.e. our own alliance of states, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Hercegovina] said today for Novi Sad Television and Radio Podrinje in Loznica [Serbia].

Prior to his departure for New York to attend the resumption of negotiations, Karadzic stressed that it is now of great importance to safeguard the front lines and to improve them where possible. "With the help of God, our position is good, and thanks to our courageous fighters, we have managed to protect our territories and the Serb nation. We can negotiate now and behave as if there was no pressure," Karadzic said, explaining what the Serbian side's views are of the pressures to which it has been exposed.

In connection with the forthcoming humanitarian aid air drops in eastern Bosnia, Karadzic said: "It is sure that there are people who support the Muslims in the United States administration, but it is certain that they are not going to come here to fight for the Muslims."

If this form of humanitarian aid operation begins, a larger part of the aid will land on our territory because our trenches are quite close, Karadzic said.

Serb Minister: Airdrop To Hamper Negotiations

LD2502181393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1453 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—The United States decision to parachute humanitarian aid to eastern Bosnia is dangerous, risky, and will hamper the resumption of talks, Aleksa Buha, foreign minister of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Hercegovina], told TANJUG.

Buha said that while the first six-point plan by Bill Clinton was encouraging, the second one "is discouraging." Buha recalled numerous acts of terrorism which the Muslim side committed at crucial moments for negotiations—from planting explosives and shelling their own people in bread lines, markets, bus stations, in addition to shooting down an Italian plane.

"The fact that the Muslim side was never reprimanded or punished for these actions, only encouraged them to undermine negotiations."

"The government of the Serb Republic has evidence that the Muslim side is preparing a new act of sabotage," Buha said. "Muslim authorities are counting on the escalation of conflicts and U.S. involvement, which could start with shooting down an aid plane."

"This would provide an alibi for a military intervention against Serbs, which the Muslim side has been urging since the beginning of the war in former Bosnia-Hercegovina", Buha stressed. "This is the only way for the Muslims to achieve their goal: a unitary Bosnia with Islamic authorities."

"Some countries, such as Turkey and Holland, have responded positively to the U.S. invitation to get involved in this operation. However, some leading European countries, such as France, England, and Italy—which have reservations—have showed signs of wisdom, which is an encouraging sign at a time when chaos threatens," Buha maintained.

On the other hand, Buha believes that the U.S. decision, which now talks only about cooperation with the United Nations and does not call for the UN to lead or supervise the entire operation, shows "clearly its totally arbitrary attitude toward the United Nations. This is worrying, because it leaves both sides with lots of space for maneuver, which only worsens the situation and hampers negotiations."

The Serb side must prepare the people and the army for all risks inherent in such an operation, Buha concluded.

Serb Officials Support U.S. Airdrop Plans

LD2502235793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2152 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Sarajevo, Feb 25 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb officials on Thursday [25 February] said they would support and cooperate in the planned U.S. humanitarian airdrop operation.

The officials—Bosnian Serb Prime Minister Vladimir Lukic, Corps commander General Stanislav Galic and General Staff member Zdravko Tolimir—discussed the planned operation of parachuting humanitarian supplies to the war-ravaged former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina with U.S. General Jim Jones, in charge of the operation, and French General Philippe Morillon, the commander of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Bosnian Serb officials warned of a real danger of provocations and attacks by Moslem units which are almost totally out of control of their command.

It was generally concluded that the airdrop operation would be a temporary solution which should last as short a time as possible to minimize the risks.

Generals Jones and Morillon gave assurances to the Bosnian Serb officials that the planned operation was a truly humanitarian undertaking and expressed a willingness to permit Bosnian Serb government and military officials to monitor it in all its stages, from loading to unloading.

Technical options were put forth, but much work remains to be done before concrete agreements should be coordinated and efficacious security solutions found.

The Bosnian Serb officials expressed certain reservations about the complexity and cost of the operation, the risks involved and the actual need for this kind of humanitarian operation, in view of the fact that land convoys are both simpler and less risky, as well as far cheaper.

Delegation Member Assesses Chances of Talks

AU2502142693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Interview with Muhamed Filipovic, chairman of the Muslim Bosniak Organization, and member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina delegation at the New York talks, by Senada Cumurovic in Sarajevo on 25 February—recorded]

[Text] [Cumurovic] Geneva is behind us and New York is ahead. Mr. Filipovic, how do you see the position of Bosnia-Hercegovina between the talks in Geneva and the coming ones in New York?

[Filipovic] Well, you know that the Geneva talks were conducted under certain unfavorable conditions for Bosnia-Hercegovina. The principal unfavorable circumstance was that we, the Bosnia-Hercegovina delegation, entered those talks completely unconditionally with the aim of reaching an agreement in the negotiations. The aggressors entered the talks—that is, continued the process of negotiations—while at the same time carrying out their offensive and aggressive operations, thus exerting pressure on the Bosnia-Hercegovina delegation. The aggressors entered the negotiations with the aim of using them as a cover for completing the work on the ground, and so forcing the results of the negotiations.

So far, since the talks were heading in an unfavorable direction, Bosnia-Hercegovina [words indistinct] the talks and the results, and brings into doubt the achievement of the basic aim of keeping Bosnia-Hercegovina a unitary, sovereign state on its entire territory, so we had to reject such a proposal. As you know, we refused to sign the document on the maps dividing up Bosnia-Hercegovina because they were based on the ethnic principle and because of a certain legitimizing of the ethnic cleansing that results from that division.

Of course the situation is different now. In what sense? In the sense that we have received satisfaction for our position in international politics, particularly with the entry of the United States directly into the negotiations, since the United States has clearly stated that it supports the Vance-Owen plan only partially and that it has serious objections to exactly the same points as we have. We reject such an agreement.

On the other hand, we have set some conditions. The first one is that the humanitarian aid must get through to those regions. The greatest pressure, and the thing that [words indistinct] the reassessment of the division of Bosnia in accordance with the constitutional principles that have been adopted, and with constitutionally determined authority and functions of these provinces. The provinces must not be the result—or the battleground, to put it that way—of the achievement of ethnic wishes, but they have to be harmonious and constituent parts of one whole, in a way that would make every province capable of functioning as a whole in the geographical, economic, educational, historical and political senses of the word, and without hindering the functioning of the whole. On the contrary, they should enable an optimal functioning of the whole.

We are going to New York with these views. We hope that we will achieve our basic aims there, those that we have formulated—meaning the democratic reintegration of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the safeguarding of its territorial integrity and sovereignty, which is of course the most important point for us.

[Cumurovic] Does that mean that the Bosnia-Hercegovina delegation is going to New York with more optimism, with greater expectations?

[Filipovic] Yes. We believe that we will most certainly achieve much more in New York than we did in Geneva, and we believe that our people deserve to stop being the victims of murder, attrition, and all other kinds of terror tactics.

[Cumurovic] Thank you.

Izetbegovic Leaves for 'Official' Visit to U.S.

AU2502200493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] We have just been informed that Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, has left for an official and friendly visit to the United States.

Presidency Names Delegation to New York Talks

AU2502200693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] At the forthcoming talks on the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina in New York, the Bosnia-Hercegovina delegation will consist of the following: Haris Silajdzic, minister of foreign affairs; Miro Lazovic, chairman of the assembly; Muhamed Filipovic, assembly deputy; and Stjepan Siber, deputy chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

This was decided today at a session of our presidency. A brief statement issued after this session stresses that the talks under the auspices of the United Nations in New York will resume on 27 February. The cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and David Owen, will be joined by Reginald Bartholomew and Viktor [name as heard] Churkin.

Joint Protocol Targets Aid Distribution

LD2502234293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] The Governments of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina have signed in Zagreb a protocol on cooperation for creating a logistics center in Croatia for the reception and distribution of humanitarian aid sent to Bosnia-Hercegovina. Centers for the reception and distribution of humanitarian aid will be situated in Zagreb, Rijeka, Split, Ploce and Slavonski Brod, according to the protocol. The protocol was signed by Croatian Vice Premier Mate Granic and Neven Kulenovic, charge d'affairs of the Bosnia-Hercegovina embassy in Zagreb. The setting up and the organization of the work of the logistics centers will be carried out by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government through its representatives in Croatia via an agreement with relevant Croatian authorities. The Croatian Government will be allowed to supervise the work of the logistics centers and transport of humanitarian aid.

Fierce Muslim Attacks Reported Near Bratunac

LD2402142193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1340 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] Bratunac, February 24 (TANJUG)—Muslim attacks on Serbian positions around Bratunac, a town in eastern Bosnia- Hercegovina (BiH), resumed on Wednesday [24 February] morning.

"Encouraged by the possibility of provoking an incident if the planned parachuting of humanitarian aid does take place, the Srebrenica Muslims have renewed fierce artillery attacks from the area of Kravica towards northeastern Bosnia-Hercegovina," Lt. Col. Slavko Ognjenovic of the Army of the Serbian Republic in BiH (VRS) stated to TANJUG.

Muslim formations are using all available heavy artillery and occasionally opening fire also from tanks, according to VRS sources.

The movement of Muslim forces from the direction of Srebrenica towards Potocari was observed on Tuesday evening. Renewed offensive operations followed on Wednesday.

The defenders of the Serbian municipality Bratunac are heavily and precisely countering the attacks and firmly hold their positions.

According to available information, Muslim forces plan a new thrust towards the border River Drina, wanting to capture the river's left bank, Lt. Col. Ognjenovic told TANJUG.

Relief Convoy Arrives in Gorazde

AU2502184193 Paris AFP in English 1825 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 25 (AFP)—A U.N. relief convoy arrived Thursday [25 February] in the eastern Bosnian enclave of Gorazde after Serbian forces lifted a three-day blockade, a spokeswoman for the [Office of the] United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] said.

The 12 trucks loaded with food and medicines had been held up in Podromanija, a town some 45 kilometres (28 miles) east of Sarajevo, since Tuesday shortly after they left Belgrade, and were searched by Serbs "box by box", a U.N. spokesman earlier said.

The Serbs' "inspection regime is as rigid as ever," he added.

According to a correspondent for the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA, Serbian forces objected to the convoy carrying "more medical equipment than is listed in its documents."

The trucks were unloaded in Gorazde and were due to return to Belgrade Friday, UNHCR spokeswoman Lyndall Sachs said.

The UNHCR had been trying to get supplies through to Gorazde for nearly a month.

Government Welcomes U.S. Decision on Aid

LD2502232193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] The Croatian Government welcomes the decision by the U.S. Government to head the international community in a resolute effort to find a solution to the humanitarian crisis in Bosnia- Hercegovina. In a statement issued this evening, the government notes that the suffering and unprecedented hardships to the Bosnia-Hercegovina population, particularly in parts of eastern Bosnia, caused by a months-long siege and an aggression by irregular Serb formations, has reached horrific proportions.

The statement also stresses the particular importance of the decision of the UN administration to begin with food, medicines, and medical equipment deliveries by air. The Croatian Government calls on other international factors, particularly the United Nations, to respond to the appeal from the U.S. Government. Croatia expresses its readiness to contribute to providing aid to the Bosnian population and for reaching a permanent political solution of the crisis in that country.

Tudjman Holds Talks With Bosnian Croat Leaders

LD2602060293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Republican President Franjo Tudjman received a delegation of Croats from Bosnia-Hercegovina, including Presidency member Miro Lasic; Defense Minister Bozo Rajic; Deputy Foreign Minister Branko Huturer; Franjo Bratic, president of the Croat community of Usora; Anton Ernest Hudic, president of the Usora Croat Defense Council [HVO]; and writer Andjelko Vuletic.

Lengthy talks discussed further cooperation with and assistance for neighboring Bosnia-Hercegovina, especially in providing shelter for refugees and humanitarian aid for the people, and in protecting the Croat people in that country.

The talks stressed that the way out was not in the continuation of war, but in halting the aggression and establishing a just peace based on the Vance-Owen plan, which is also a plan of the international community and which is expected to be adopted soon also by the Serb and Muslim side.

Serb Forces Fear New Croatian Offensive

LD2502132393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1127 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Knin, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—The main headquarters of the Serb forces and the Interior Ministry of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] believe that Croatia is planning and preparing a fresh offensive. According to a statement from last night's joint session of the main headquarters and the Interior Ministry, Croatia is continuing its mobilization drive and is bringing in fresh reinforcements of manpower and weapons to areas bordering the RSK.

The statement says that Croatia will not observe Security Council Resolutions 802 and 762 on unconditional withdrawal from RSK territory—that is, from the UN protected areas—and that it will do everything to preserve its coalition with Muslim forces in order to involve the 5th Muslim Corps from the Cazin Krajina in the war against the RSK.

The joint session considered the preparedness and combat readiness of Krajina army and police force units. The RSK main headquarters and Interior Ministry stress that the units are materially well equipped and ready to carry out successful combat operations for a prolonged period of time.

Although the Krajina forces headquarters has not thus far publicly and explicitly commented on the confrontations within the [Krajina] authorities, the statement from the last night's session says "there is an imperative need to take measures that will ensure the unity of the people and authorities, the unity of the Serb army and police, and a united command under the main headquarters of the Army of the Republic of Serb Krajina."

The statement says that the main headquarters and Interior Ministry of the RSK point to the need to pass new laws concerning defense and army and military courts, and that they acknowledge the importance of volunteers and volunteer units in resisting the aggressor. At the same time, they are led by the requirement to place all such units under a unified military command, and their members must comply with RSK laws.

The statement from the last night's joint session says the main headquarters and Interior Ministry of the RSK have critically examined the latest events and certain actions aimed at reducing our combat readiness and causing an artificial conflict.

Diplomatic Relations Established With Philippines

LD2602055993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] The Republic of Croatia and the Republic of the Philippines have established diplomatic relations, which will contribute to the development of cooperation and friendly relations between Croatia and the Philippines.

Federal

Ministry Denies U.S. 'Propaganda' on Arms Sales

LD2502194593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—Following a report by THE NEW YORK TIMES, quoted by some other media sources, and an official statement by a U.S. State Department spokesman, that a Greek-owned ship is transporting weapons which Serbia exports to Somalia, we inform the public that none of the above mentioned claims is true—the Federal Ministry for Defense Information Service announced today.

The ministry maintains this is a matter of yet another obvious insinuation motivated by propaganda in order to bring discredit upon the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the eyes of the world's public. This untrue statement about the origin of the cargo, its shipper, and Somalia as its final destination was fabricated and launched precisely at a time of growing pressures on Serbia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

It is a fact, however, that our country has for a long time been exporting considerable quantities of modern high quality weaponry and military equipment—ranging from small arms ammunition to tanks—which can be found in almost every corner of the globe. This is why one should not rule out the possibility of finding, even today, a certain amount of that weaponry planted in some cargo, the purpose of which is defamation, thus conveying the conclusion that we are exporting arms in defiance of the UN embargo.

Within the context of the whole campaign being waged against Yugoslavia, it should be kept in mind that this is, among some other things, some kind of revenge taken by the military industry of the U.S. and other large weapons exporters. For, it is a well-known fact that Yugoslavia has on several occasions squeezed the U.S. out of the weapons market and deprived it of very lucrative deals in some countries. Let us mention that a few years ago we competed against many developed countries, including the U.S. also, in a public tender and sold the latest model of M-84 tank with all its accessories to Kuwait and that in another competition our tank wiped the U.S. and its "Abrams" out of Pakistan. We have carried out a similar demonstration of the tactical and technical performance of our tank in Iran, too, as we were just about to clinch a series of corresponding deals.

Bearing in mind that there are clear-cut specific interests behind every political action, it is not a far-fetched notion that the entire unscrupulous propaganda campaign waged by the U.S., as well as its perfidious activities at dismantling Yugoslavia, disguises its attempt to thwart our presence in the world's weapons and military equipment market. Understandably, we used to manufacture, we are manufacturing, and we will manufacture modern weapons and military equipment in line with our national interests and with the country's commitment to use its own force and means to defend itself. In addition, we will launch, in a legal way, surplus quantities of these products on to the world market, the statement concludes.

Officials Sidestep Comment

AU2602084193 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Feb 93 p 11

[Unattributed report: "Army Distancing Itself, Government Preparing Statement"]

[Text] "The issue of arms sales is not within the authority of the Supreme Command of the Yugoslav Army. If anyone knows anything about it, then it is the Federal Defense Ministry." This is the view of the Information Service of the Yugoslav Army's Supreme Command, concerning the extremely hot topic of the alleged export of arms from Serbia to Somalia, as published by the NEW YORK TIMES on 23 February. The Yugoslav Defense Ministry, which is without a minister (after Milan Panic's departure, General Milorad Dragojevic is acting minister), claims through its information service that such activities are not within its jurisdiction but rather within that of the Federal Directorate for Special Product Trade [Savezna direkcija za promet proizvodima posebne namene]. That directorate is relatively independent, and answers only to the Federal Government.

As General Nikodim Jovanovic, chief of the Directorate, was not present, we asked his deputy, Colonel Anastas Paligoric, how he could explain the text in the American newspaper.

"I saw the article but I cannot tell you what it is all about. The one thing I can definitely say is that our company, which is no longer called the Federal Directorate but "Jugoimport—SDTR," has nothing to do with it.

Asked whether somebody else in Serbia or Montenegro could export arms without the knowledge of "Jugoimport," Colonel Paligoric explained that "up to the end of 1992, there was a law on the sales of special products, that is, arms, but a new law was introduced in November that enables the foundation of other companies that could be in that line of business." Although there is no information on any other organization or company having started such trade, Colonel Paligoric believes that it is "hard to establish the facts, but this can absolutely not be brought into any connection with our company." He adds that "Jugoimport" is not giving any response or denial of the news since "there is no need for it. We will, however, answer direct reporters' questions."

According to the NEW YORK TIMES, "arms are being exported from Serbia," so we asked for any reactions in the Serbian Defense Ministry. Since Serbian Defense Minister Marko Negovanovic was not available, his office (Mr. Nisavic) said the following:

"That is only speculation and we do not have the authority to explain anything, since that is part of international information activities, so the Ministry of Information is in charge of that. The way it has been presented, I cannot really say whether it is a part of the propaganda war, but it looks like it. Whether this is just speculation, it is hard to tell, but it is bound to irritate the citizens. On the other hand, where would it all end if we reacted to everything that was published, no matter how provocative? I suggest you contact the Information Ministry."

Since Minister Miodrag Perisic was at a meeting, his deputy Dragan Stavljanin said the following:

"I know about that article and I have already spoken to the minister about it. We have not prepared any reaction for today, but there will be something tomorrow. This is a very important issue and the government is certain to discuss it tomorrow and come up with a statement or announcement."

UN Envoy Warns of Dangers of Air-Dropping Aid

LD2602033493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0052 GMT 26 Feb 93

[Text] New York, February 25 (TANJUG)—Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the United Nations (U.N.) Dragomic Djukic said on Thursday [25 February] that no-one had anything against increasing the humanitarian for Bosnia-Hercegovina, but that one should bear in mind the risks involved in such an operation.

Commenting the decision by United States (U.S.) President Bill Clinton to airdrop humanitarian aid into eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina from U.S. naval warplanes, Ambassador Djukic warned that all three sides involved in the conflict in that area had weapons that could down cargo planes.

Such an incident would doubtless affect the entire relief operation, Djukic told reporters at the U.N. headquarters in New York.

Djukic asked why there has been no announcement about the findings of the investigation into the downing of the Italian plane over Bosnia (west of Konjic) in September last year, although the U.N. Security Council had ordered it.

The plane was flying over an area controlled by Croat forces and was downed with a small rocket, and not with weapons that can hit a target from greater distances, "preliminary" findings said.

Djukic recalled that Yugoslavia was in no way involved in the conflicts in Bosnia-Hercegovina but was well-informed about the situation there, and was therefore warning against the risks involved in the operation of airdropping humanitarian aid into Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Air Force Head Warns on Readiness To Down Planes

AU2502154993 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Feb 93, p 3

[B. Solesa report: "Where Is Ilija Djukic Rushing"]

[Text] "The deliverance of aid by parachutes involves many dangers, as this action is not at all easy to carry out. Cargo planes (Hercules C-130) are a big target flying 200 to 300 km per hour at relatively low altitudes. They represent an easy target, not only for antiaircraft weapons but also for infantry weapons. As it is known that command and control procedures [subordinacija] in the Muslim Army are poor, it is completely predictable that they may carry out provocations and down American planes, something that would then be attributed to the Serbs. It is then possible that Serbian positions will be attacked. It can be seen that they are considerably more careful after they received information about all this." This is what Colonel General Bozidar Stevanovic, commander of the Air Force and Antiaircraft Defense of the Army of Yugoslavia, told reserve officers in the hall of the Vozdovac Communal Assembly in Belgrade on the evening of 24 February.

The rest of the general's speech was the same as the one he held in Zemun last week when he addressed retired officers. However, this time, the Air Force commander devoted a lot of time to conversation with interested people. Among other things, in reply to the question of "what if the Americans, who are experts in violating airspace, enter Yugoslav airspace," he resolutely said—"We will be experts in downing planes."

As usual, he was not restrained when dealing with political issues: "Why is Ilija Djukic (federal minister of foreign affairs) rushing into saying that we from Yugoslavia are not going to act? He should say that we are going to act, or he should at least be silent. Well, we have been suffering pressures and unjust condemnations. If it happens that we down an aircraft that enters our airspace, it would be very difficult to explain to a man in Texas why a coffin is arriving." He asked himself aloud according to what logic foreign officers ask the Army of Yugoslavia why two or three French officers were killed and deemed this a funny logic, because "it is they who are there, around Zadar; we are not."

General Stevanovic considers it particularly important for the future of the Army of Yugoslavia that state borders be finally defined, "so it will be known what is mine and what yours," and that a new constitution be adopted that will be respected by everybody and not as it is at the moment when "the Constitution is disputed by half of the parties." He also mentioned disagreements regarding the near future and said the following: "Here, on 9 March they are going to try to challenge us, to have us kill each other in the street, and to have the police and the army clash."

Explaining his long-time acquaintance and work (since 1952) with Anton Tus, former general of the Yugoslav People's Army and present general of the Croatian Army, Commander Stevanovic connected this with the fate of the airport near Bihac. "I have made the decision myself for that airport to be destroyed because I knew about the games involving it. Out of 26 pilots at the airport, only two were Serbs. All four planes that have defected, three to Croatia and one to Austria, were from Bihac. Croatian Assembly deputies were already publicly commenting that the Bihac Airport was theirs. What was involved here was one of the best airports in the world. Similar airports exist only in the United States (two) and one each in Switzerland and Sweden. Tus, who knew this perfectly well, had prepared surveyors even before this to later include the airport in the territory of Croatia although it belongs to the real estate registry of Bosnia. For your information, 100 aircraft could be kept on that underground airport.

Pointing out that the building of airports was not carried out at random, he explained that the Zagreb airport is the most modern, followed by the [Belgrade] Surcin airport, and then there are six airports in Croatia, most of them along the coast. The head of the Yugoslav Air Defense pilots confirmed that "they have downed 22 of our planes, mostly of the Galeb and Jastreb type, and two MiG-21's, in which 17 pilots were killed and one (Milan Medic) is still in prison, while six are treated as having disappeared, although there is some information on their being seen. Dobrica Cosic and Franjo Tudjman talked about that, but there are no results."

Cosic Assesses Bucharest Talks, Bilateral Ties

LD2602001593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2030 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, stated in Belgrade this evening following his arrival from Bucharest, that his visit to Romania had been a meaningful and a very friendly one.

Cosic and his associates were in Romania at the invitation from Romanian President Ion Iliescu. "Romania showed with this invitation that it is our old, devoted and reliable friend," Cosic said in a brief statement for journalists.

The talks in Bucharest were held at a crucial moment of the Yugoslav crisis, Cosic said. He added that topics discussed were the Yugoslav policy, intentions and plans for ending the war in Bosnia, and also the consolidation of the Yugoslav region which, as he said, destabilized the entire Balkans by the war and sanctions.

"What is happening to us is threatening to become not only our tragedy, but is also threatening all neighboring countries, the whole south-eastern part of Europe", Cosic said adding: "Sanctions which the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is suffering have also affected our neighbors. The world unjustly and cruelly punished the Balkan peoples. There are no longer any rational reasons for that."

The President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia said that the talks today were devoted to the removal of these reasons, which, as Cosic said, became more a matter of inertia and less so a matter of reason, "so little rational that in some forms and content they are more like revenge."

"We discussed improvement of relations," Cosic said, stressing that this was "very difficult under the present circumstances." But with such people as the Romanian, and with such political leadership and such statesmen as the Romanian ones, relations can improve even under these circumstances. We were searching for the ways and paths of improving these relations," he said.

President Cosic also touched on, as he put it, unpleasant events on the Danube. There have been, he said, certain events which could have caused dissatisfaction of our neighbors and our own. Cosic was commenting on some misunderstandings regarding sailing of ships. We were searching for ways how to avoid these events taking into consideration interests and obligations which the neighboring country has got as a UN member-country, Cosic said.

In Bucharest we discussed consolidation of the Balkans and searched for common ground for a joint action. Cosic said that he was happy to be in a position to say that there was no important issue in which his and Iliescu's views diverged.

"Iliescu is an exceptional, wise, noble, imaginative, and brilliant politician, a man with imagination, he thinks about the future and is building it. He is a politician with foresight. He has managed to incorporate an active friendly attitude toward the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia into the policy of foresight, while under these circumstances friendships are put to the test everywhere, particularly in the Balkans today. To be a friend of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to be a friend of the people of Serbia and Montenegro, is an expensive friendship nowadays. That friendship ought to be deserved and justified. I can assure you with certainty that our country and our people deserve such friendship, of course with an obligation to cherish and remember it."

Official Blames Romanians for Danube Blockage

AU2502175593 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Marinela Razanjatovic report]

[Text] The Yugoslav river shipping has been prevented from performing its regular business by the Romanian organs, who are not allowing the ships to get through the Djerdap II lock. This has been going on since 30 January. Since that time a large part of the fleet has been docked

in Prahovo. We are talking about five ships, 43 empty vessels, and 19 vessels with goods.

As stated by Dusko Strugar, director general of the Yugoslav river shipping, there is no excuse for obstructing the traffic of ships without cargo, nor traffic of any other ships that are moving between Yugoslav ports. Refusing to guide our ships through Djerdap II has made the river traffic between Yugoslav ports impossible. Such behavior of the Romanian organs is in contradiction with the provisions of the convention on shipping on the Danube, of which Romania is also a signatory, as well as the provisions of the agreement on the construction of Djerdap II. (?Because) of the delays in the construction of the Yugoslav lock, which is by the way Romania's duty, they are obliged to guide all Yugoslav vessels through their lock.

All relevant Yugoslav and Romanian organs have been informed about these problems, but one month has passed, and no solution has been found. This is why our shippers decided to block the Danube, that is to say the Djerdap II lock.

As Strugar pointed out, the blockade will last until the Romanians agree to guide the Yugoslav ships. He also expressed a hope that President Cosic will influence a successful settlement of the problem during his talks with the Romanian president.

Metal Industry Experiences Extreme Difficulties

LD2502161593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1229 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—The metal industry is facing a much more difficult economic situation than is suggested by statistics alone, and that is compounded by the fact that the statistics alone are alarming enough in themselves.

It was said at today's session of the committee of the Metal Industry Association of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber that, due to the sanctions and the conflagration on our borders, productivity has been halved. Large numbers of workers have been on compulsory holidays, imports have stopped, and the market has shrunk to an exceptionally low level.

The volume of output in this branch, which is the backbone of the Yugoslav economy, fell by 34.1 percent last year. That is much more than the fall in overall production in Yugoslavia—21.5 percent. The fall in vehicle production is as high as 46.7 percent.

The negative trends from last year have continued. Productivity in January this year, compared to the same month last year, has fallen by 43.2 percent.

Josip Krajninger, general manager of the Subotica "Sever" said: "The situation in our factories is much more difficult than indicators show. Because these paint such an unrealistic picture, neither the federal nor the republican government has done enough to provide better protection and organization for enterprises during the blockade."

Most managers of metal-processing plants warn of great difficulties regarding payments of salaries and of the increased need for social security.

While private entrepreneurs are exempted from any obligations and responsibilities regarding the social status of the employed, and can solve their problems mainly by laying off workers, socially owned enterprises are "condemned" to having a social policy even when they do not have the money. This is why it was demanded that this session initiates the creation of a Yugoslav social program by the federal government.

Serbia

Sainovic, FRY Army Chief Discuss Cooperation

LD2502162393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic and Colonel General Zivota Panic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, had talks in the republican government today, the Information Ministry revealed in a statement.

On this occasion, they discussed several topical issues regarding cooperation between state bodies of the Republic of Serbia and the Yugoslav Army in carrying out roles defined by the Constitution and law.

It was noted that the degree and quality of cooperation that has been achieved has considerably helped ensure full security and protection of the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Serbian Defense Minister Marko Negovanovic took part in the talks, the statement says.

Army Paper Describes Rapes of Serbian Women

93BA0605A Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jan 93 pp 12-13

[Article by B.C.: "Inside the War: Rape as War Crime"]

[Text] *The goal of the skillfully timed lie about the rape of as many as 50,000 Muslim women in the territory of the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina] was to clear the way in world public opinion for possible military intervention against Serbs in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H] and to conceal the real crime that is being committed against women of Serbian nationality in approximately 15 both private and public Muslim-Croatian bordellos.*

It is hard for the women who have most often "bought the right to freedom" (bribed their jailers and tormentors) to talk about the torture to which they were subjected in the so-called Muslim-Croatian brothels for

Serbian women. They are perhaps the worst victims of this war; their suffering is as enduring as their memory. They are most often encountered at obstetric-gynecological clinics, where they are trying to get rid of their unwanted embryo, or at psychiatric clinics.

"Since the beginning of the military conflict, the number of patients at psychiatric clinics in Belgrade has increased by 20 to 30 percent," says psychiatrist Dr. Jakulic. "Among the patients from areas affected by war there are more women than men, and they often say that they are in that state because of rape. In any population, the number of psychopaths cannot be greater than 7 percent, and it is realistic to assume that rape is present on all three sides. Thus, my opinion is that the circulated figure of 50,000 Muslim women who have been raped by Mladic's soldiers in the Serbian Republic is an outright lie, or professionally speaking, pseudologia fantastica. This has not been proven. I will cite the example of a woman who was held in Tuzla and raped three or four times a day, and when a child was conceived, she was set free. That fits in with the teachings of the Koran, which says that if the father is Muslim, then the child is also Muslim, regardless of what the mother's religion is. That phenomenon is based on genetic theory, so that women such as these were allowed to go to Serbia to bring Muslims into the world, which is incompatible with common sense, because nationality is acquiring by upbringing. These patients have manifested serious psychiatric indicators; a preponderant share of them were in a state of psychosis for which there is no final cure, and they often enter a chronic anxious-depressive state."

"Since the end of September, many women have reported to this gynecological clinic in advanced stages of pregnancy," says Prof. Krstic, the head of the Gynecological Clinic in Belgrade. Using the statements made by these raped women, first-class testimony concerning the crimes committed against women and children during this war is gained.

Sarajevo Hell

"I was returning from work when they stopped me, put some sort of rag over my eyes, and took me, as I later learned, to a private prison," a 20-year-old girl from Sarajevo begins her story. Rape and mistreatment has been going on in the suburbs of Sarajevo for several months now. She continues her bitter story by saying that the detainees in classic camps were much better off, because there they had the chance of being exchanged, while in private camps they can simply disappear without a trace. In that dark cellar, she met a girl of 15 and a half who cried continuously and said that she was going to kill herself; she asked T.M. to give her something to end her torment. But in that hovel there was nothing to be had. "They gave us some sort of blanket, as if to cover ourselves while we slept, but it was impossible to sleep there. That first evening when they brought me, I had no idea what was going on. But then the first one to come was Alibaba, as they called him, and in fact they all had nicknames. He forced me to have oral sex. They brought in some sort of chair, tied me to it, and then two of them held my legs while the warden of that prison, Celo, did something called the sex act in a horribly brutal way....

"Screaming could be heard from other rooms as well, which means that there was plenty of it going on. I have the impression that the prison in which they were holding us was a small apartment building.

"Once I had become pregnant, and was already in a serious psychological state, they moved me to a psychiatric clinic. But I did not dare say that I had been in a Muslim prison. I told the doctors that the confined spaces were killing me, that I was afraid of confined spaces, of cellars. Because people in Sarajevo live in such cellars, that was simply an excuse. I was there two or three days, and they gave me some clothes. I was very weak, I felt nauseous, and went to the gynecological clinic to get rid of it. There they told me that they would do it only if I said that I was raped by Serbs and that they had mistreated me.

"Most likely it would have served their purposes, because I am a Serb, for me to testify that they are doing that not only to Muslim women, but also to Serbian women. To me, those were not doctors. They wanted me to make some sort of statement before journalists, but I literally cursed at them because I am a Serb. Secondly, I did not want to shift the blame to people who did not do it. They asked me what I would do when I gave birth to a Muslim. I answered, 'I will strangle him!' They said, 'Oh, but you're stubborn!' I am not stubborn, but carrying that embryo inside me, I have only bitterness; it is inconceivable to have a mother's feelings for such a thing.

"It was hard to make my efforts to escape the Sarajevo hell as soon as possible a reality. In order to get out of there, you had to have connections, pay between 500 and 1,000 marks, but also have confidence in people. Finally I somehow succeeded...."

Nevertheless, she arrived in Belgrade and recently gave birth prematurely. One of the doctors described the delivery as something that happens once in a lifetime: "For the first time, we were present at a birth where everyone was crying. It was horrifying to see the mother, who put a pillow over her head when she heard the baby crying. After the delivery, she was given an anesthetic, during the course of which she repeated only one question: 'Am I in prison?'"

Living in Uncertainty

Refugee K.S. from Bosanski Brod, age 51, offers other convincing proof of the brutality in Croatian and Muslim camps for Serbs:

"Before being taken prisoner, I did not dare leave the house or walk in the yard. On 27 July 1992, the military police of the ZNG [Croatian National Guard Corps]

took me prisoner. They took me and my husband to the soccer stadium in Bosanski Brod, where the prison was.

"My son fled and did not want to fight. In the prison, they raped me and beat my husband. I was in prison until 25 August 1992, when I was exchanged at Bosanska Gradiska.

"I heard that my husband was killed at the stadium around 1 September 1992. His name was S.D. Our acquaintances M.J. and M.N. were detained a second time, in Tulek, in the warehouse of the Belgrade department store. Their second confinement came on 2 September 1992 in the stadium. Someone who was confined with my husband was a witness to his beatings all day on 1 September, after which they brought him bloodied to the bed that evening. He was alive; a policeman came in and struck him twice in the head with a bottle, and after that he gave no more signs of life. Afterwards they called the doctor, and the witnesses who were inside alleged that D. had killed himself.

"After I left to be exchanged, the newspapers said that the prisoners had been moved to Slavonski Brod and Slavonska Pozega. My sister-in-law from Germany called a colleague of mine who determined that D. was being held in Slavonski Brod. That colleague was herself in Brod. Now I am still living in uncertainty, because some say that he was killed, while others say that he is alive. The ones from the prison say that D. was placed in a metal trunk in the room where he was killed. They bury people killed like that near the Sava in Bosanski Brod, near a dike in the garden of H.L., a former employee at the police station.

"There were nine other women with me in prison, both old and young. All sorts of things were done to them. Most of them were released during the exchange, but M.R. and N.H. remained behind, and are mistreated daily.

"I had two houses in Bosanski Brod. Croats moved into them, and my car was taken for use by the crisis command.

"I continue to live in uncertainty."

Abduction of Serbian Women From Krajina

At the beginning of her statement, J.I. (28) describes how she, with other passengers, was abducted from the bus on which they were returning from abroad on 26 January by armed men at Sisak, and taken to a camp in Slavonski Brod. There she met many young women from Knin Krajina, exceptionally pretty, but disfigured. She quickly realized that she had been brought to a brothel.

"Sometimes they left us alone for two or three days. When they left us like that, they did not give us even a crumb of food, or water, and even when we got food it was not fit for animals.

"Once they came after midnight, they were losing their positions, so they were very angry. They came into our shed, tied together a couple of barrels, they were empty barrels for petroleum derivatives, and took the women one by one and had their way with them, four at a time. And then it was my turn. One of them tried to cut off my hand with a hatchet, leaving me with a scar, while another was already committing his violent deed, while a third one was on my leg. I passed out and stayed on those barrels all night. I was terribly cold, and hungry and thirsty. I stayed there naked like that."

When they found out that many of the women were pregnant by them, including J.I., they sometimes left them alone, because for them that was for the well-being of the Croatian child. In that case, it did not bother them that Serbian women were bearing the children, because it was the father who counted, and those children were Croats.

"On 22 April, they transported us by truck to the Sava, and afterwards by boat to the other shore, and then to a collection center in Odzak. Intermixed there were the two religions that were being kept prisoners. Croatian Catholics and Muslims, together like brothers. Because they knew that there were plenty of pregnant women among us, they moved us into a building, which I heard had been some sort of school. From time to time they moved us around to other buildings, so that we would be protection for them, because even then they were under attack by the Serbian armed forces, the Krajinans. Sometimes they left many of us pregnant women alone, because they saw that we were in advanced stages of pregnancy of four or five months.

"After raping women and torturing them for four or five hours at that school, they took the Serbian prisoners, young and old, to completely humiliate them following that shameful act.

"Black legionnaires or blackcoats came on 16 July and demanded hidden money, gold. Anyone who had the means to pay the black legionnaires bought his own head, because we were later exchanged. In Odzak we were received by the Krajina Corp. That night they let us rest. They gave us something to eat and drink and supplied us with cigarettes. I drank juice and milk for the first time in six months. I was a nonsmoker for four years, but then I lit a cigarette for the first time. I did not believe my eyes and ears, that I was free, that my head was still on my shoulders."

Massacre of Rape Victims

In Slavonski Brod, they called one man "Plavi," J.I. continues her account.

"His passion was to circle at least one eyebrow on every pretty woman and cut it off, following its natural line, after which he liked to bite off a piece of ear or gouge out an eye. He always did all of those things, or just one of them. We had one woman who was seven months pregnant who came to Slavonski Brod as a prisoner. There they gouged the living child out of her stomach.

"In Odzak, two Muslims were required to circumcise every male prisoner, regardless of their religion. Many women lost fingers because of their rings, or ears because of earrings. On one occasion, I watched as one of them, whom they called 'Crni,' after raping an exceptionally pretty girl from Knin Krajina, cut off her lower lip with a knife. They did not put us together with the men very much, we did not meet much, but when we did meet we could see that they were strangled with metal wire, that they were killed with knives to the throat or neck, the head, that they had no eyes, no hands, etc. There was one who enjoyed cutting off people's legs at the knee. With an ax on a block, like executioners do, after which the people bled to death."

In Odzak there was a warehouse, J.I. testifies, where Serbs were kept imprisoned for 10 days without water or food. They relieved themselves in the same space where they were living. From time to time, day and night, people came in and mistreated and tortured the prisoners. Every night they took out two or three dead people to cover up the deaths.

They liked to put a rag on a stick, douse it with gasoline, strip a man or a woman, douse certain parts of the body, and set them on fire so the prisoner's skin burned. They used one 11-year-old girl as a waitress. They forced her to serve them completely naked. They had their way with her every day.

[Box, p 12]

Rape of Grandmother and Granddaughter

"I saw this with my own eyes at a camp in Sibenik," says Gavrilo Tripkovic of Prebilovci, an exchanged prisoner who was tortured and mistreated at several Croatian and Muslim camps. "One soldier, a young man of about 26, a former neighbor of theirs, raped a 70 year old grandmother and her 15 year old granddaughter, both Serbs. After a blow to the head with a rifle butt, he first raped the unconscious grandmother, and then the granddaughter, who resisted. He dealt her a similar blow with the rifle butt, and raped her in the presence of other prisoners. While these terrible scenes were going on, the guards ordered us to eat grass or be killed."

[Box, p 13]

Terror of Fire Horses

One night around midnight, eight of them came, Z.M. from Novi Grad, age 22, testifies. They were half-drunk. They beat all of us. They took two girls, L.D. (15) and S.D. (21). "They raped both of them. They were a group of guys from Posavska Mahala and surrounding villages. They called themselves 'the fire horses.' I knew most of them personally, Marijan Brnic especially. I asked him to let me go, I begged him, I mentioned his previous neighborly relations with my family. He told me that I was lucky that he was alone, that he did not turn me over to the guys, because then the procedure was special, five or six on one girl. They pulled my friend B.N. (19) by the hair and hit her when she tried to get away, held a knife to her throat. She was raped by two of them, and the others were driven away by the police. When their police locked them up so that they would stop mistreating us, all of Posavska Mahala rose up. They threatened to come and set us and all of Novi Grad on fire if they were not released. The police released them, and the raping continued."

West's 'Lies' on Rapes in Bosnia Denounced

93BA0609C Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 29 Dec 92 p 7

[Article by Milutinovic: "Is There Any Justice for the Serbian Woman?"]

[Text] We are witnesses that anti-Serb propaganda is being conducted uninterruptedly in the international public; its objective is the aspiration of German circles to bring about military intervention and thereby bring the Serbian people to its knees. Numerous falsehoods are being invented in the course of this effort, primarily filthy lies that have been exceedingly successful in maintaining the impatience of many Western circles and constantly initiating pressure on the Serbian people and its subjugation to the interests of the Catholic world.

Lies of the German Newspapers

They did not succeed with the concentration camps, ethnic cleansing, and mass graves, so they turned more decisively toward woman, who has always been a symbol of inviolability. The most important early effort in this field came from the Hamburg newspaper STERN in its Issue No. 47, followed up in more detail in No. 49 on 26 November, with its article on the raping of 50,000 Muslim women over nearly eight shocking pages, which, like it or not, had to evoke condemnation of the world public before any verification of the data whatsoever.

SPIEGEL of Hamburg followed it immediately with something similar; it stationed its reporters in particular areas, mainly Trnopolje, and published an article containing numerous women's testimony about rapes. It even managed to raise the number of rapes to 60,000, which, you will agree, is an impressive number. Bearing in mind, as it is said, that all those women are alleged to have been raped by between two and 30 Serbian soldiers, it turns out that the Serbs have been doing nothing in recent months but raping Muslim women, which, you will accept, is extremely frivolous and unacceptable!

It is already well-known that Germany was the initiator of the condemnation of the Serbs for rapes in the European Community, which then resulted in adoption of the Security Council resolution on 18 December entitled "Condemnation of the Brutality Toward Women in Bosnia." The resolution states that most of the rape victims were of Muslim nationality, and as a consequence a special commission was formed which in 15 days was to file a report with the Security Council. The only question is whether room will be given to the

numerous Serbian women detained by force in the brothels in Travnik, Gornji Vakuf, Bugojno, Sarajevo, Vitez, Zenica, Zavidovici, Tuzla, and numerous other towns? Will the commission find the hundreds of Serbian women who have been looked for unsuccessfully for months and who were taken from the Sava Valley into brothels and bordellos in Croatia and certain Western countries? What about the numerous women from Cazin Krajina who were raped? What about the camps to train janissaries in Zavidovici, Zenica, Tesanj, and Maglaj, which the Yugoslav press wrote about back in August?

It is true that Serbian women experience this with difficulty and bitterness and are reluctant to talk about it. However, surely the data of the Laza Lazarevic Psychiatric Clinic in Belgrade and numerous other clinics will provide the best confirmation as to who has done what to women in this war.

The greatest number of accusations about the raping of Muslim women were in the refugee camp in Trnopolje, although it is well-known that that camp was under the control of the International Red Cross almost the entire time and that Muslim men were in charge of keeping order in it. This was recorded by the cameras of Western countries, which are now keeping silent! This was done at the time of the organized release of war prisoners from Manjaca, probably in order to express gratitude to the Serbian side for its understanding and its actions offering a peaceful resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H].

It is strange, nevertheless, that almost all the statements about the raping of Muslim women provided accommodations in Zagreb were made by Croatian psychologists who were neither present nor involved in the rapes. All of this indicates an organized campaign of the official Croatian authorities to constantly attribute to Serbs numerous undocumented accusations. In all the reports, the charges are mainly for abuse of Muslim girls between the ages of 12 and 17, and so in early January we can expect a new wave of propaganda aimed at accusing the Serbian side for its treatment of Croatian and Muslim children in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina.

They Have Accused General McKenzie

What sheds light at least for a moment on the problem of the raping of the Muslim women is the conclusion of the authors Cheryl Benad and Edith Schlaffer of the article published in SPIEGEL, including the following passage: "About 60,000 women might have been raped, says the Bosnian Ministry of Internal Affairs, and at least 30,000 of them are pregnant. These are presumably more estimates than scientific and accurate figures.... The very fact that so many of the women smile the way they do at the journalists while they are talking about the violence they experienced refutes the assumption that they have been raped...."

Martin Letmeier, a reporter for the agency Zoller Film Produktion, has visited the places referred to in the articles: Trnopolje and Doboj, and he talked to local Muslims about the raping of Muslim women by the army, which shocked these people, especially those who were accused by Zahida Alisic. From what we have learned, the piece was broadcast over the German television network ABC, but this obviously did not bother anyone. On the basis of information from people with whom he talked, Martin personally verified that Gen. McKenzie of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], who was accused of raping four Muslim girls, had never even visited Doboj, so that he could not have committed that act. His television story was watched by millions of viewers, but the propaganda against the Serbian people is continuing in spite of that kind of refutation!

Patty Marshal, an English newswoman from the agency ITN, became interested in the accusations of the Serbs for raping Muslim women and did a story on it which was shown not only in England, but also was given considerable time on the American TV network CNN. In her story about the rapes, Croatian psychologists, women, do most of the talking, accusing the Serbs of these dishonorable acts, while another truth becomes evident at the end of the report by the newswoman Patty Marshal: "According to the Croatian authorities, between 10,000 and 12,000 women have been raped in Bosnia, but not a single Muslim woman has said that she was raped." This conclusion of hers clearly indicates what the truth is and whom it really serves.

Radio Station Zagreb of Croatian Radio reported a filthy new lie on 27 December: "War criminals in Banja Luka have in the face of the entire world public arrested 250 Muslim and Croatian women in the last two days and forcibly taken them off to camps, and they are likewise arresting and murdering Muslim and Croatian men. For that reason, the remaining 10,000 Muslims and Croats, or 10 percent, the number remaining in the region of Banja Luka, are sending an appeal and prayer to the world public to stop and punish the Chetnik crimes. It is not difficult to figure out what the allegedly imprisoned women might be used for. In any case, world public opinion has to be kept focused on accusations of the Serbian side."

Since back in July the Serbian side has been keeping records and informing the world public about numerous abuses of Serbian women, about their being raped, about the formation of camps to train janissaries, about the opening of brothels with Serbian women, but nothing has been done to prevent this. On the contrary, an altogether new campaign has been generated in which the Serbs are accused of these inhuman acts. The public has been presented affidavits about the detention of the Serbian women, coupons for the brothels, but this obviously did not interest anyone, because these were Serbian women. Once again, then, we are presenting two pieces of confirming evidence to show the extent of abuse of Serbian women, and let at least the Yugoslav public see what the truth is, when the world is not willing to listen!

[Documents]

REAR COMMAND Bosanski Brod-Sijekovac

APPROVAL

Confirming the right of the Intervention Platoon from Zagreb to bring in Andja Novakovic and Petra Kisic, persons of the feminine sex, for the use of the male sex.

The persons are to be brought in at 1800 hours.

The persons brought in will sleep in the basement of the quarters.

In case of resistance, the use of force is permitted.

[Signed] Ahmet Causevic, Commander of the Rear

[Stamp] Bosanski Brod HVO [Croatian Defense Council] [illegible number] Brigade of the Bosnian Sava Valley 2d Battalion

REAR COMMAND Sijekovac near Bosanski Brod

APPROVAL

Confirming the right of the Intervention Platoon from Sijekovac to bring in Dragica Mijatovic and Grozda Petrovic, persons of the feminine sex, for the use of the male sex.

These persons are to be brought in in the evening hours and allowed to go home in the morning.

The persons brought in will spend the night in the basement.

In case of resistance, the use of force is permitted.

Ahmet Causevic [Signed] Commander of the Rear

[Stamp] Bosanski Brod HVO [Croatian Defense Council] [illegible number] Brigade of the Bosnian Sava Valley 2d Battalion

Muslim Refugees on Ethnic Cleansing

93BA0600A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Feb 93 p 3

[Article by D. Vukovic: "Mosque Burned on St. Sava's Day"]

[Text] "If someone had told me that the Serbs will go to Istanbul, I would have believed him. But if someone had told me that the Muslims would have to flee from Trebinje, I would not have believed him."

A middle-aged man from Trebinje, a Muslim, said this to a BORBA reporter immediately after the bus from his native Trebinje brought him to Dinos, a village near Podgorica. The first stop on his trip into the refugee's uncertainty. He is not the only one to be surprised at what has happened to him. The turn that things have taken in Trebinje, where the Serbian authority proudly said that their Muslims were fighting side by side with the Serbs against the Croats and as individuals had even distinguished themselves with their heroism, is strange to many people. Why have the Muslims all of a sudden become undesirable in Trebinje Opstina?

"I was at the front for 18 months. Until a few days ago, when they came and discharged me. They came and took my gun and said: "We don't need you anymore." No one cared that they had needed me for 18 months," we were told by a frank 30-year-old. He did not want to say his name, nor did the others to whom we talked, because everyone still has someone in Trebinje. They do not want their words to decide anyone's fate.

"The mistreatment is a story in itself. They break into houses, they take things. Paramilitary formations? God knows what army that is. They get together, a dozen of them, if the fancy strikes them, and they do their job. If you dial 92 for SUP [Secretariat for Internal Affairs] and say a Muslim is calling, they tell you you have the wrong number. When you call again, they no longer lift the receiver. If you go there in person, they tell you there is nothing they can do against them."

These Are Not Trebinje Serbs, I Fear for Them

"Ninety percent of those who are mistreating people, driving them from their homes, beating and robbing them, are not Trebinje Serbs. These are people who are terrorizing the Trebinje Serbs as well. The Trebinje Serbs are fleeing just like we are," he told us. He said that the Muslims do not feel bitterness toward the Trebinje Serbs. Or perhaps they do, because they did not prevent those others, because they did not come just out of the blue.

"I feel sorry for the Trebinje Serbs, who really were our friends, and they have remained our friends even today. We are sorry for them now. We have found peace, we will find peace; we will start over, but now I am afraid for them."

Were there attempts, we asked, of Serbs to protect Muslim friends or neighbors?

"There were attempts, but they ended tragically. Little Srdja Aleksic lost his life trying to save a Muslim. He was killed in front of the police station with the entire Trebinje police looking on. They crushed his skull with the butt of a rifle. The son of an Orthodox priest in Trebinje was saving Muslims, and he also was to get it in the head. He luckily lived through it, but he took quite a beating with a rifle butt."

Is there talk about murders?

"Three members of the Topcibasic family were killed on the threshold of their house. And then there was Harba.... There were other murders, but I cannot remember the names now. None was solved. No one in fact even tried to clear them up.

"They fired bursts when they set fire to the mosque. Unfortunately, that happened on a holy day for the Serbs, on the day of St. Sava, the great Serbian educator."

The mosque was set on fire?

"Set on fire. It burned down. The fire was set in the evening. They sullied the name of St. Sava. To their shame and grief."

A Man Cannot Stand the Torture and Threats

"The large-scale mistreatment, beatings, and threats began a month ago," we were told by our next informant. "Life lost all meaning, because one was simply unable to withstand all the tortures and threats. These were not individual cases, but this became widespread in the last month. For example, four men broke into my house and said that they had an order for me to move out before the sun set...."

Did you recognize those men?

"I did not recognize them. They spoke the Ekavian dialect. I assumed they were from Serbia. The fact is that each neighborhood got a team of people from outside accompanied by one person from Trebinje."

Our informant continued to talk about how it began by setting Muslim structures on fire in the old city. This culminated in the firing of the bey's house, and then the mosque, which burned to the ground. He said that practically all the Muslim cultural and historical monuments had been destroyed. All that remains is Arslanagic's Bridge, and probably, he concluded, they will demolish that too when they build a new one.

"Lists were made up of those whose children had left earlier. I was on the lists and I had to leave. I was called by name, I received a telephone threat.

"I was immediately aware of everything. What little I could sell, I sold. What I was unable to sell, I left behind. I left behind the house, 12 meters by 10, two stories.... Things were sold for a song, a wagon for 20 German marks [DM]. You could sell the house for DM300, the house and all the furniture in it."

Every Religion Is Holy That Respects the Human Being

"I spent 13 months at the front. I left the day they set fire to the mosque. I left of my own free will. The moment the mosque burned down, everything of mine burned down. My family did not burn up, but my foundations did. I fell apart."

What was the attitude toward the Muslims on the front?

"Super. I cannot lie and I will not lie. I spent 13 months with my comrades. All the rest cried and stayed."

What could have happened in a month?

"This is simply cleansing. No Muslim inhabitants can remain here, because if they set fire to the mosque in Trebinje, which is 500 years old, that is a sign that tomorrow it will be my turn, my life."

A middle-aged woman recounts: "On Saturday, six men armed to the teeth came and told us to leave the house as though nothing had happened. They chased everyone out of the bey's house at 1:30 in the morning. And then the police brought them back."

And who drove them out?

The woman said that they introduced themselves as special police.

"Ninety-nine percent of the Serbs were fair to us. But those who came from outside, from Nevesinje, from Gacko, from Serbia, who knows where they came from. Our Serbs were unable to protect us from them. If you could have only seen those from nearby villages who had come to escort us. None of us shed a tear. They sobbed out loud. I was sorry for them, because perhaps they will pay for that if anyone saw them.... The decent Serbs from Trebinje set off with us to help. I know what I am saying. These are honorable Serbs. The cross is honorable, and every religion is honorable that respects the human being, and I tell you for certain that those who do these things are neither human beings nor believers. They are neither believers nor Serbs. They are degenerates, extremists...."

Effects of Sanctions, Status of Firms

93BA0607A Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jan 93 pp 36-37

[Unattributed article: "Impact of the Blockade"]

[Text] Workers of EI [Electronics Industry] at MIN [Machine Industry of Nis] in Nis, about 12,000 of them, are on mandatory vacation because of the lack of work, 9,500 of them from EI.

In the Niksic Bauxite Mines, they produced 800,000 tons of bauxite ore last year, considerably less than the possible output under normal conditions. Sixty percent of the quantity mined was sold.

The shock absorber factory in Pristina has lost a large part of the domestic market; the sanctions stopped export transactions, so that for several months now more than 500 workers have been on mandatory leave.

The Niksic Steel Mill has halted production in Kovacnica because it ran out of fuel—propane-butane.

The Belgrade clothing manufacturer Beko exported 80 percent of its output under normal conditions. That business has been stopped; the plants in Kovin (350 workers), Lazarevac (150 workers), and Svilajnac (150 workers) are not operating at the moment. The plants in

Belgrade and Arandjelovac are at present working for domestic customers: According to forecasts, they will operate until mid-March.

Aside from stopping export arrangements agreed on for the United States, the sanctions have created big problems for the Subotica firm Dvadeset Devet, joint stock company, in the production of fully prepared foods because of the shortage of aluminum foil for packaging, which is imported from abroad.

The sanctions have halted the import of equipment for the DIV [Vranje Tobacco Industry] from Holland, Germany, and France, on which it had paid an advance; production, which was planned for 5,000 tons of cigarettes, barely reached 3,500 tons.

Inex-Hemofarm—Vrsac: Business Expansion

In spite of all the general economic difficulties, from the economic blockade to the immense inflation—that have decimated our industry, as well as those specific ones that particularly hurt the pharmaceutical industry, Hemofarm of Vrsac had only a 5.5-percent drop in total sales last year. So, they literally maintained the level of production at the 1991 level on a market reduced by half. At the same time, they were also able to maintain their entire drug assortment throughout all of last year.

Last year, Hemofarm put into production 35 new drugs, which it registered and put on the market. And these were key drugs that replaced those that for one reason or another were no longer reaching our market. Mainly, these were parallels of those drugs which until then had been purchased in the former Yugoslav republics, above all in Slovenia and Croatia.

Last year, Hemofarm also began construction of a new production plant with 12,500 square meters of floor space, which is supposed to be ready by the end of March. This, says Miodrag Babic, the director, is "one of the largest investments in the history of Hemofarm and has been done at the worst time." At the same time, Hemofarm is also building a plant for the production of penicillin-type antibiotics at a site near Kovin. Its firm in Belgrade, Panfarma, has already put some of these drugs on the market, but when the plant is finished at midyear, this will be a much larger offering. In the course of this year, we were told by Director Babic, Hemofarm will also expand its offering in the field of veterinary medicine and agricultural chemicals.

Matroz—Sremska Mitrovica: Newsprint Production Resumed

The paper-making machine for the production of newsprint went back into operation on 12 January. The decision to start up the machine was made after deliveries of heavy fuel oil stabilized, and the factory's supply of thermal energy is also satisfactory. In the present mode of operation, the machines need 150 tons of heavy fuel oil per day.

It is still uncertain how long the paper-making machine will operate. At Matroz, they hope that production will be assured for at least a week. As for other raw materials, Matroz has enough to support 30-45 days of production.

It should be recalled that Matroz is the only producer of newsprint in the country, that inventories of this commodity in the factory have been reduced to a minimum. And that the operation of the newspaper-publishing firms will be seriously threatened if this production is shut down again.

Rudi Cajavec—Banjaluka: New Program Presented

The firm Prostorna Tehnika of the Rudi Cajavec Holding Company system, presented the other day its new production program of nickel-cadmium and lead battery chargers under the PARS program. The chargers are produced in three versions—transportable, portable, and stationary—from six to 120 channels with a storage battery charging time from one and a half to four hours, depending on the strength of the battery.

Prostorna Tehnika has manufactured five types of chargers; the first production run has been made available for use. There are large opportunities for use of the new chargers both for individual consumers and also to meet the needs of the army, miners, and construction workers.

21 Oktobar—Kragujevac: Adoption of New Production Programs

The severed ties with subcontractors in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H], and Macedonia on the one hand, and the blockade and sanctions on the other have forced Zastava Automobiles to seek a solution through substitution, by turning to domestic producers of the missing parts. Thus, 21 Oktobar of Kragujevac is now organizing the production of automotive lamp equipment and is making tools for products once delivered to Zastava from Jugoplastika in Split. There are also two other programs which are not directly related to the automotive industry, but they are important to milk processors and to the utilization of capacity. The interest in developing programs which rely directly on the food processing industry was also found in the fact that larger investments in the agroindustrial complex are planned in coming years. The second program is the manufacturing of toys, because there are fewer and fewer of these goods on the Yugoslav market.

Organized attempts are obviously being made to overcome the blockade, and in order to succeed in this 21 Oktobar formed a team of engineers who are supposed to carry out the procedure for adopting new production programs in a manner that will guarantee high quality standards. Time will show how successful they are in this, although the components of the light and signal equipment that have been put into production have been given good marks and in no way fall short of those parts obtained until recently in Slovenia.

Tekstil—Sombor: Knitwear Firms Taken Over

As of 1 January, the commercial firm Tekstil of Sombor took over the knitwear firms Zefir of Sombor and Beti of nearby Bezdan, which ended the agony of these two firms, which had lasted almost a year.

In taking over the knitwear firms, Tekstil committed itself to discharge their debts and also to take over some of the work force. After the bankruptcy, 167 workers were taken from Zefir and 137 from Beti for a certain time—up to one year.

Vrbas—Banjaluka: Production Cutback

Vrbas' so-called "colonial program," that is, a program for the production of solid wood chairs worth about $150,000 a month, is still being sold on the American market.

The operation working the hardest is the sawmill, which exports a major part of its output—lumber—to Italy. This business is especially important because it affords a regular supply of imported production supplies. Vrbas is operating at a third of installed capacity and it has about 40 percent of its total labor force.

New Projects and Reconstruction

Cetinjeturist—Cetinje: Profit of 100,000 German Marks [DM]

The Cetinje firm Cetinjeturist, which has successfully transformed itself into a joint stock company and adapted its business to market conditions, is one of the three most successful Montenegrin firms to which the Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce awarded its traditional annual award for results achieved in 1992 and for their contribution to the country's economic development. This joint stock company, whose lines of business are hostelry and tourism, the production of health food, and retailing, and which has special advantages for organizing tourism in the mountains and tourism based on hunting, achieved enviable results last year and a profit of about DM100,000.

By contrast with previous years, in which capacity was less than one-fifth filled (about 17 percent), in 1992 capacity utilization was increased fivefold (to 85 percent). Last year, they had 20,000 overnight guests, and, as Dragan Ivanovic, director of this firm, said recently, this year they have already sold 2.5-fold more accommodations (about 50,000), which suggests at the outset a good beginning of this business year. Negotiations are under way with the Italian firm San Daniele, to which Cetinjeturist plans to sell about 80,000 high-grade prosciutti.

The Grand Hotel, which has 508 beds and convention halls with a capacity of about 2,000, operates as a part of this firm, considerably rounding out Montenegro's total tourist offering. This year's plan calls for sizable investments in reconstruction of present facilities. As a matter of fact, in addition to modernization, the plan also calls for construction in the course of the year on an old project, the former Hotel Lokanda, which was built in the city under Lovcen 127 years ago (1866).

Ratko Mitrovic—Belgrade: Trial Sewage Treatment

Just before the end of last year, a central installation for treatment of sewage water was put into operation in Gornji Milanovac. When it begins to operate at full capacity, the installation will take 700 liters of water per second, treat it, and protect the Despotovac River from pollution. Investments in this project amounted to DM9 million.

Work on this installation lasted two years; the firm Oprema (which is part of the Energoprojekt system) did it on a turnkey basis, and the construction contractor, Ratko Mitrovic, did its job under contract on time.

Radnik—Bosanska Gradiska: Startup of a Veneer Mill

All four factories of the Radnik firm in the forest products industry have been operating alternately, so that every month they deliver a complete assortment of upholstered and veneer furniture worth about 500 million dinars.

Wartime conditions have diminished the area in which Radnik was marketing its products until recently, both on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and also in the countries of West Europe. Fortunately, contracts worth DM500,000 with foreign partners have not been canceled.

In addition to carrying out their production program, at Radnik they are continuing their investment activity so that production might begin in the first half of the year in the newly constructed veneer mill with a floor area of 4,000 square meters.

Poljoplod—Valjevo: Third Phase of the Fattening Operation

The livestock farm Poljoplod in Gornja Bukovica is finishing construction of the third phase of a farm for fattening baby beef; on completion, the capacity of 2,500 animals at a time will be increased by another 1,000. This is expected to employ a large number of private farmers on the principles of cooperation. According to Dragoljub Hadzic, the director, the design has been done for the fourth phase of the farm's construction. In addition, a mini feed mill will be built to prepare livestock feed with a capacity of 20,000 tons.

Poljoplod of Valjevo is cooperating successfully with private farmers in fattening baby beef. Poljoplod is providing the animals, feed, and veterinary services to the farmers who raise the animals. Thanks to this kind of commitment, as many as 3,500 head of baby beef are raised every year.

EI—Nis: Packaging Factory Nearly Completed

Construction of a packaging factory is nearing completion at Aleksinac, and pilot production is expected soon. That is, after the mining accident in the Aleksinac Coal Mines, the Serbian Electric Power Industry and EI of Nis pooled their funds and last year began construction of a plant which, it is planned, would provide jobs for 230 miners who were left unemployed after the mines shut down. The value of this investment is about DM30 million.

Originally designed for the production of packaging, stiropor [styrofoam] elements, wooden boxes, and certain other products intended above all to meet the needs of EI, the factory in Aleksinac will to some extent change its market concept of business operation. This factory will be making packaging to meet the needs of Yugoslav consumer goods manufacturers, the postal, telegraph, and telephone system, food manufacturers, and certain other industries.

Data on Serbian Antiaircraft Weapons

93BA0634A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 14 Feb 93 p 14

[Article by Fran Visnar: "There Is No Safe Corridor"]

[Text] The decision to partially halt the flight of international humanitarian aid over parts of Croatian territory is quite explainable from the military standpoint. The rebellious Serbs in Croatia have at their disposition not only Strela 2M portable infantry antiaircraft launchers (the 9M-32 missile can reach a target as far as 4.2 km and has a maximum vertical altitude of 2.3 km), but also self-propelled combat vehicles [BOV] (made in Serbia) armed with automatic cannons. Thus, the self-propelled BOV-20/3 fires 32 to 37 rounds per second from its 20-mm three-barrel guns and can hit aircraft up to 1,500 meters of altitude. But the self-propelled BOV-30/2 has two automatic 30-mm guns, infrared sighting and driving systems, electronic and optical sights for tracking airborne targets. The guns fire at a speed of 15 rounds per second up to an altitude of 3 km. That is the reason why the German transport plane Transall C-160 managed to survive, because it was flying at an altitude of 3,100 meters—the Serbs fired on it from the self-propelled BOV-30/2; the armor-piercing shells, which reached a maximum altitude of 3 km, self-destructed, and the engine, propeller, fuselage, and cabin of the Transall were hit only by shrapnel from the exploded 30-mm shells.

Every Aircraft Is Illuminated

Likewise, the pilots of various countries whose transport planes have been flying this corridor to Sarajevo complain that Serbian observation radars frequently illuminate them, which every time is recorded by special devices installed in the cockpit. The Serbian radar stations are located in the area controlled by Radovan Karadzic. They are Russian-made PRV-11 mobile radars (range 350 km, target detection altitude 45 km, power 1,400-1,800 kW, frequency range 2625 MHz) and the P-12NP (range 300 km, detects targets at an altitude of 25 km, power 180 kW). Stationary P-14 observation radar (detection distance 400-600 km, target altitude 36 km, power 900 kW) and the mobile P-30 (detection distance 250-370 km, target detection altitude 20 km) and the P-35 Bar Lock (detects targets at 300 km up to an altitude of 25 km) are deployed on the soil of Serbia itself. Thus, no transport plane goes unnoticed. The Serbs also aim SAM-6 Gainful (CUB system) antiaircraft missiles at all aircraft. The launcher has three missiles 6.2 meters long, diameter 355 mm. Each weighs 550 kg; they are placed on the modified chassis of the PT-76 light tank and reach locked-in targets at a velocity of Mach 2.5 (vertically to an altitude of 18 km, horizontally to a distance of 60 km).

SAM-2 Guideline heavy missiles are also deployed around Banja Luka. These are V-750 surface-to-air missiles belonging to the DVINA-75M system (horizontal/slanted range 34 km, vertical 27 km, velocity Mach 3.5) and also the modified V-755 surface-to-air missiles of the VOLKHOV-S-75V system (horizontal range 56 km, vertical 30 km). The Serbs have also prepared sites near Banja Luka for SAM-3 Goa antiaircraft missiles.

V-601 missiles of the NEVA-S-125 system are placed on the double and quadruple stationary launchers; each missile is 6 meters long with an initial weight of 947 kg (horizontal range 25 km, vertical 18 km). The SAM-2, SAM-3, and SAM-6 missile systems are linked to the P-15 Flat Face radar, which finds and tracks airborne targets at low altitudes. Its observation is effective at 250-270 km, and it detects targets to an altitude between 4 and 6 km.

The Threat to the Croatian MiG-21

Each of these systems has long ago become harmless to a considerable extent for up-to-date American, Israeli, and NATO combat planes in the fourth generation. But medium and heavy transport planes (Transall C-160, G-222, C-130 Hercules, and so on), such as are flying to Sarajevo, are helpless in the face of such fast and destructive projectiles, which at the same time are also extremely dangerous for the Croatian MiG-21 supersonic fighters (a second-generation plane). The Serbian General Staff in Belgrade is also promising to deliver to the region of the rebellious krajinas in Croatia SAM-9 Gaskin mobile light antiair systems (two double launchers located on a wheeled vehicle with a horizontal range of 8 km and vertical 5 km) and the SAM-13 Gopher (two double launchers on a crawler vehicle, horizontal range 10 km, vertical 8 km).

In addition to the standard Strela 2M (SAM-7), volunteer units in Baranja and Knin, as well as Serbian units of lower tactical units in B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina], are also receiving for use improved Russian Igla E portable antiaircraft missiles (SAM-14 and SAM-16; they reach aircraft and helicopters at an altitude up to 3.3 km). A special feature of this model is the strong

explosive charge of the infrared warhead, to which round, square, and pyramid-shaped steel pieces have been added. When the Igla E system launches a missile, it turns on an additional engine before the target, suddenly rises, attacks the aircraft from below, and almost certainly kills the pilot. That is the most frightening fact to the crews of the large transport planes, because the Igla E simply jumps over their heat decoys and other measures of active interference. The SAM-14 and SAM-16 systems also threaten low-flying aircraft (fighters, helicopters, light transport planes) operating at an altitude from 50 to 1,500 meters.

This presentation shows that the Serbian side maintains menacing coverage of all the air corridors in this region with its radars and heavy missiles installed as long as a year ago, while the total number of light antiaircraft missile launchers and conventional antiaircraft guns of various calibers has increased several times over. But a common characteristic of the entire Yugoslav region is concentration of cheap equipment of almost exclusively Russian origin. When all the sides advance and set up systems ordered earlier, there will be new breakthroughs in establishment of technological superiority in air defense.

Air Defense on the Space of the Former Yugoslavia (as of January 1993)

Country	Surface-to-Air Missiles	Light Air Defense Missile Systems	Antiaircraft Cannons (Caliber)
Croatia	SAM-9, SAM-13	SAM-7 (Strela 2M)	14.5-mm, 20-mm, 30-mm, 37-mm, 40-mm, 57-mm
Slovenia	SAM-9, SAM-3	SAM-7 (Strela 2M), SAM-16 (Igla E)	20-mm, 30-mm, 57-mm
Serbia and Montenegro	SAM-2, SAM-3, SAM-6, SAM-9, SAM-13 (SAM-11 ordered in Russia)	SAM-7 (Strela 2M), SAM-14 Gremlin, SAM-16	20-mm, 30-mm, 37-mm, 40-mm, 57-mm, 85-mm, 90-mm, 94-mm
B-H Army		Strela 2M, Stinger	20-mm and 30-mm
Croatian forces in B-H (HVO [Croatian Defense Council])	SAM-9	Strela 2M, Stinger, Mistral	14.5-mm, 20- and 30-mm, 40-mm, 85-mm and 88-mm
Serbian forces in B-H	SAM-2, SAM-3, SAM-6	Strela 2M, Igla E	20-mm, 30-mm, 37-mm, 40-mm, 57-mm

Defense Ministry Denies Recruiting Cadets

LD2502152793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1255 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—The Defense Ministry of the Republic of Serbia has not, nor does it need to, advertise for cadets and students in military schools and academies.

This is said in a statement issued by the office of the Serbian defense minister in connection with a question addressed to Serbian Prime Minister Nikola Sainovic at a news conference held yesterday. Journalists asked whether the republican Defense Ministry's advertisements for cadets in military schools means that Serbia is creating its own army.

The statement adds that this must be some sort of misunderstanding, because public information media (POLITIKA on 23 February) wrote that the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Serbia has advertised for cadets and students in military schools and academies for the 1993/4 academic year.

"Regarding the second part of a reply made by the Serbian prime minister to this question, we stress that it is true that the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Serbia needs to educate such cadres, but that it is securing them through the regular educational system," the statement concludes.